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THE HISTORY
OF
English Dramatic Poetry

TO THE TIME OF SHAKESPEARE :

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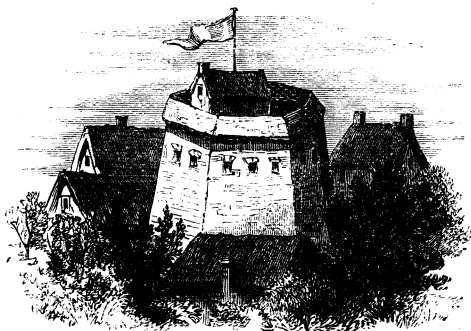
ANNALS OF THE STAGE

TO THE RESTORATION.

BY

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A NEW EDITION.



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THE
HISTORY OF DRAMATIC POETRY.

(CONTINUED.)

ON JOHN LYLY AND HIS WORKS.

JOHN LYLY was an ingenious scholar, with some fancy ; but if poetry be the heightened expression of natural sentiments and impressions, he has little title to the rank of a poet. His thoughts and his language are usually equally artificial, the results of labour and study ; and in scarcely a single instance does he seem to have yielded to the impulses of genuine feeling.

He is therefore so far to be placed in a rank inferior to most of his contemporaries ; but it is not to be forgotten that, strictly speaking, some writers with whom he may have been compared, were not his contemporaries : he began to write a little before them, and he was the inventor of a style which, however factitious, had the recommendations of refinement and novelty.¹ Lyly became so fashionable, that better pens, as in the case of Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge, followed his example, and

¹ It was called *Euphuism*, from his work *Eupheus, the Anatomy of Wit*, which was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in 1578, and was no doubt published early in 1579. Malone (see *Shakespeare by Boswell*, ii, 188) had a copy dated 1579, which he supposed to be the second edition, the first being without the insertion of the year on the title-page.

became his imitators. The chief characteristic of his style, besides its smoothness, is the employment of a species of fabulous or unnatural natural philosophy, in which the existence of certain animals, vegetables, and minerals, with peculiar properties, is assumed, in order to afford similes and illustrations. Malone contends that Lyly's plays, compared with his pamphlets, are free from these affected allusions, and that three of them are quite of a different character; but he seems to have been only superficially read in Lyly's works, and among the proofs of his want of an exact acquaintance with them, may be noticed his statement that *Galathea* was one of the comedies he produced in 1584,¹ when, in fact, the '*annus mirabilis*' of 1588 is twice mentioned in it. In the employment of this invented natural history nearly all Lyly's dramatic productions may be placed upon an equality; and if such frequent resort be not had to it in his plays as in his tracts, it seems only because allusions of the kind could not be so conveniently made in dialogues between the persons concerned. It is astonishing how Malone could have brought himself to the conclusion, that Lyly 'unquestionably makes a nearer approach to a just delineation of character and life' than any dramatist who preceded Shakespeare: seven of his plays are merely mythological or pastoral, and were never meant for representations of 'character and life'; and although the scene of *Mother Bombie* is laid near Rochester, the names of nearly all the persons are classical, and no attempt is made to depict in them the manners of the time. *Alexander and Campaspe* is Lyly's only piece which has any pretension to the delineation of character, and there chiefly in the part of Diogenes, whom the author has drawn sufficiently cynical.

Lyly was born in Kent in 1554, and was matriculated at Oxford in 1571, when it was recorded in the entry, that he

¹ Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, ii, 192.

was seventeen years old. It is a circumstance connected with his early life, mentioned in the *Annals of the Stage*, that on the 16th May 1574, he wrote to Lord Burghley (whom he terms *patronus colendissimus*) a Latin letter, in a good style, and a beautiful specimen of penmanship, which was thus indorsed, probably by his lordship's secretary; 'John Lilie, a Scholar of Oxford, an Epistle for the Queen's letters to Magdalen College to admit him a fellow'. The Lord Treasurer is addressed in a strain of extravagant hyperbole, and the epistle is directed—*Viro illustrissimo, et insignissimo Heroi, domino Burgleo*.¹ We are without evidence as to the result of this application, but Lyly having been made Bachelor of Arts in 1573, proceeded Master of Arts in 1575-6. He produced his *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit*, early in 1579, and from the prefatory matter to it we learn that he had previously been rusticated from Oxford, for what he calls 'glancing at some abuses': perhaps he supplied his necessities, even at this date, by writing for the stage, although his earliest printed dramatic works, *Sapho and Phao*, and *Alexander and Campaspe* did not appear until four or five years afterwards. One of his first patrons was the Earl of Oxford, himself a writer of verses; but, in July 1582, Lyly seems to have lost the favour of that nobleman: this circumstance is stated in the letter which Lyly wrote upon the occasion to Lord Burghley, in which he protests his innocence of all just imputation. In what capacity he served Lord Oxford is not mentioned, but it may be gathered from the terms of the letter, that he had occupied a place of pecuniary trust, which he was supposed to have abused.

Lyly had certainly produced six dramatic pieces prior to 1589, including *Galathea*, which, for a reason already stated, may perhaps be given to that year. In *Midas*, printed in 1592, and in *Mother Bombie*, printed in 1594, he seems to allude to

¹ It is among the *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. xix, Art. 16.

a tract he had published in 1589, *Pap with a Hatchet*, which was written against Martin Mar-prelate, and is so lively a piece of satirical bantering as to afford some evidence, that this was the style to which Lyly's talents naturally tended.¹

Lyly was at one time a candidate for the office of Master of the Revels: when he died we have no information, but there is reason to think that he lived into the seventeenth century. His last, and unquestionably his worst, play was published as late as 1601.

Of all Lyly's dramas it is to be observed, that they seem to have been written for Court entertainments, although they were also performed at theatres, most usually by the Children of St. Paul's and the Revels. Including *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, of which there is no sufficient reason to deprive him (unless that it is better in some respects than his other plays), Lyly wrote nine dramatic pieces—seven in prose, one in rhyme, and one in blank-verse. We shall notice them in the order in which, judging from external and internal evidence (into which we need not enter), it may be presumed that they were produced.

Alexander and Campaspe (twice printed merely as *Campaspe*, in 1584 and 1591) has some claim to be considered in the light of an historical play. Although we learn from the prologue at the Blackfriars theatre (where it was acted after it had been represented at Court) that it had been written in haste for the particular occasion, it is certainly one of the best

¹ It was published without date, and Reed erroneously states, in *Dodsley's Old Plays*, ii, 99, last edit., that it appeared in 1593. It must have been printed before 1590, as it is particularly mentioned by Nash in the first part of *Pasquil's Apologie*, 1590:—'I warrant you the cunning *Pap-maker* knew what he did when he made choice of no other spoon than a *hatchet* for such a mouth, no other lace than a halter for such a necke.' Nash again highly praises the performance in his *Almond for a Parrot*, n. d.

of Lyly's productions, and the force and distinctness with which Diogenes is drawn has already been praised. Some interest is also felt for Apelles, who had fallen in love with Campaspe, while employed by Alexander to paint her portrait. The time is just after the siege and conquest of Thebes, and Timoclea is brought in a prisoner in the first act : she is soon dismissed, and Campaspe (who also becomes enamoured of Apelles) is the only female afterwards introduced. The main plot is varied by the introduction of some of the Grecian sages and philosophers, especially Diogenes, to whom Alexander pays two visits, both of which are characteristically conducted : three boys, attendants upon Plato, Diogenes (who rather inconsistently keeps a servant in his tub), and Apelles, have also some colloquies ; and it will be remarked hereafter, that as Lyly wrote for performance by children, he has scarcely a play in which idle mischievous boys are not employed to make sport rather than to advance his plot. It is not necessary to quote from this prose drama, because it is inserted in all the editions of *Dodsley's Old Plays*,¹ and because we shall have occasion to make extracts from others of the same species that have not been reprinted. We may, however, notice a slight coincidence, not hitherto pointed out, between a passage in *Alexander and Campaspe* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Apelles, just before he sings that elegant fancy, selected by Ellis in his *Specimens*,² soliloquising on the impossibility of attaining his desires, observes in a euphuistic strain, 'Yes, yes, Apelles ; thou mayst swim against the stream with the crab, and feed against the wind with the deer, and peck against the steel with the cockatrice : *stars are to be looked at, not reached at.*' In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (act iii, scene 1) the Duke, having discovered Valentine's letter, asks him, perhaps proverbially—

¹ Last edit., vol. ii, p. 95.

² Vol. ii, p. 243, edit. 1811.

‘Wilt thou reach stars, because they shine on thee?’

Sapho and Phao (printed in 1584 and 1591) is full of affected allusions and figures, derived from imaginary physiology: they occur in almost every scene, and the dialogue consists very much of jingle and conceit. The action lies in Syracuse, and the story relates to the love of Sapho, the Queen of that city, for Phao the waterman, whom Venus, for his courteous demeanour in ferrying her across the river, renders surpassingly beautiful. It was, like Lyly's other plays, acted before the Queen; yet it is remarkable for some severe satire upon women, for their loquacity, vanity, and fickleness. Men, however, come in for their full share also; and the following ridicule of the manners of abashed lovers is not unhappy: ‘It is good’ (says Mileta, one of the female characters, of which there are no less than eleven, including a Sybil) ‘to see them want matter, for then they fall to good manners, having nothing in their mouths but “sweet mistress”, wearing our hands out with courtly kissings, when their wits fail in courtly discourses; now ruffling their hairs, now setting their ruffs; then gazing with their eyes, then sighing, with a privy wring by the hand, thinking us like to be wooed by signs and ceremonies’. The best things said in the play are put into the mouth of this lively lady, who, in a different style, thus prettily describes the harmony of two accordant hearts: ‘Such is the tying of two in wedlock, as is the tuning of two lutes in one key; for, striking the strings of the one, straws will stir upon the strings of the other; and in two minds linked in love, one cannot be delighted but the other rejoiceth.’ The style in which love is made may be judged from the following punning extract from a dialogue between Phao and Sapho, who is dying for him, in act iii, scene i.

‘*Sapho*.———Why do you sigh so, Phao?

Phao.—It is mine use, madam.

Sapho.—It will do you harm and me too ; for I never hear one sigh but I must sigh also.

Phao.—It were best then that your Ladiship give me leave to be gone, for I can but sigh.

Sapho.—Nay, stay ; for now I begin to sigh, I shall not leave though you be gone. But what do you think best for your sighing, to take it away ?

Phao.—*Yew*, madam.

Sapho.—Me ?

Phao.—No, madam, *yew* of the tree.

Sapho.—Then I will love *yew* the better ; and indeed I think it would make me sleep too : therefore, all other simples set aside, I will simply use only *yew*.

Phao.—Do, madam, for I think nothing in the world so good as *yew*.'

The comic scenes between the roguish pages are absurd, but seldom laughable.

The author exerted his fancy to introduce as much variety as possible into *Endymion* (printed in 1591 only), which is a mythological subject, and of course treats of the loves of Cynthia and Endymion. Although he makes Cynthia desperately enamoured, Lyly contrives, without the exercise of much ingenuity, to represent Queen Elizabeth as his heroine: for this purpose, towards the close, he converts the ardent passion of the hero into awful reverence, and he breaks out in one place, 'There hath none pleased my eye but Cynthia—none delighted mine ear but Cynthia—none possessed my heart but Cynthia. I have forsaken all other fortunes to follow Cynthia ; and here I stand, ready to die if it please Cynthia. Such a difference hath the gods set between our states, that all must be duty, loyalty, and reverence, nothing (without it vouchsafe your Highness) be termed love.' The poet is here, as it were, speaking in his own person, as well as when afterwards he tells Cynthia that 'the balance that

weighs time and fortune' is committed to her hands. Dumb shows, and the dances of fairies, are employed to give novelty to the scene ; but here again the author has lamentably failed in the comic portion of the piece, and has introduced a foolish character, called Sir Thopas, who arms himself *cap-a-pie* against birds and fishes, and returns conqueror of a wren : this is weakly absurd.

The scene of *Galathea* (printed in 1592) is most preposterously laid in the north of Lincolnshire, but, nevertheless, it is certainly the best of Lyly's prose dramas. It opens with a narrative by Tityrus to his daughter Galathea, that Neptune had once overflowed the country, enraged because the Danes had destroyed one of his temples ; but that he had afterwards consented to withdraw his waters, on condition that, at the end of every five years, the fairest and chastest virgin of the land should be bound to a particular tree and offered to Neptune, who sent from his waves the monster Agar, to bring her to him, or to devour her. Tityrus has, therefore, dressed up his beautiful daughter in male attire, that she may escape this horrible death, while Melibœus (also a Lincolnshire peasant) has taken the same precaution to secure his daughter Phillida : these two girls, wandering into the woods, and not knowing each other, fall in love, each supposing the other to be a youth, and their courtship is conducted very prettily. In the mean time, Cupid flies among the Nymphs of Diana, and inspires some of them with ardent passions for the disguised Galathea and Phillida, while others seize and bind the little god. The sacrifice to Neptune then takes place, and, in default of a better, a virgin named Hebe is offered ; but as she is not the fairest, she is rejected by the angry sea-god. This occasions delay while another is sought, and Venus complains to Neptune of the cruelty and imprisonment to which Cupid had been exposed ; and in the end Neptune foregoes his

sacrifice of a virgin (of course dear to Diana), on condition that Cupid should be released. The difficulty arising out of the mutual affection of Galathea and Phillida is overcome by Venus undertaking to change the sex of one of them. The following is part of the courtship between Galathea and Phillida, neither knowing the real sex of the other, nor daring to confess it themselves.

‘Phillida.—It is a pity that nature framed you not a woman, having a face so fair, so lovely a countenance, so modest a behaviour.

Galathea.—There is a tree in Tylos whose nuts have shells like fire, and, being cracked, the kernel is but water.

Phillida.—What a toy is it to tell me of that tree, being nothing to the purpose! I say it is pity you are not a woman.

Galathea.—I would not wish to be a woman, unless it were because thou art a man.

Phillida.—Nay, I do not wish to be a woman; for then I should not love thee, for I have sworn never to love a woman.

Galathea.—A strange humour in so pretty a youth, and according to mine; for myself will never love a woman.

Phillida.—It were a shame if a maiden should be a suitor (a thing hated in that sex), and thou shouldst deny to be her servant. . . .

Galathea.—What dread riseth in my mind! I fear the boy to be, as I am, a maiden.

Phillida.—Tush! It cannot be: his voice shows the contrary.

Galathea.—Yet I do not think it, for he would then have blushed.

Phillida.—Have you ever a sister?

Galathea.—If I had but one, my brother must needs have two. But, I pray, have you ever one?

Phillida.—My father had but one daughter, and therefore I could have no sister.

Galathea.—Aye me! he is as I am, for his speeches be as mine are.

Phillida.—What shall I do? either he is subtle or my sex simple.’

The comic portion of the piece has not the slightest con-

nexion with the rest of it, and consists chiefly of scenes between an Alchymist and an Astronomer, who, in succession, hire the same roguish servant. A dance by fairies is also introduced into this rather sickly Court entertainment.

The story of *Midas* (printed in 1592), including his subsequent decision between Apollo and Pan, needs no explanation. By the prologue we learn that, in this form, it was a union of several pieces: 'what heretofore hath been served in several dishes for a feast is now minced in a charger for a gallimaufry'; so that the author does not speak very respectfully of his work, nor does it deserve much praise. In one particular it merits notice, viz., that some of the comic scenes, between two sprightly lacqueys and a waiting-maid, are considerably better than those which relate to *Midas*, and superior perhaps to any others of the same description in Lyly's other works. It is but justice therefore to add a short specimen, with some pretensions to be thought lively without buffoonery.

'*Licio*.—But soft : here comes Pipenetta.—What news?

Pipenetta.—I would not be in your coats for anything.

Licio.—Indeed, if thou shouldst jig up and down in our jackets, thou wouldst be thought a very tomboy.

Pipenetta.—I mean I would not be in your cases.

Petulus.—Neither shalt thou, Pipenetta ; for first they are too little for thy body, and then too fair to pull over so fair a skin.

Pipenetta.—These boys be drunk.—I would not be in your takings.

Licio.—I think so, for we take nothing in our hands but weapons : it is for thee to use needles and pins—a sampler, not a buckler.

Pipenetta.—Nay, then, we shall never have done—I mean I would not be so curst¹ as you shall be.

Petulus.—Worse and worse : we are no chase (pretty mopsy), for

¹ The humour of the answer of *Petulus* depends upon taking *curst* for *coursed*—i. e., angrily pursued.

deer we are not, neither red nor fallow, because we are bachelors and have not *cornucopia*: we want heads. Hares we cannot be, because they are male one year and the next female; we change not our sex. Badgers we are not, for our legs are one as long as another; and who will take us to be foxes, that stand so near a goose and bite not?

Pipenetta.—Fools you are, and therefore good game for wise men to hunt. . . . My mistress would rise, and lacks your worship to fetch her hair.

Petulus.—Why, is it not on her head?

Pipenetta.—Methinks it should; but I mean the hair that she must wear to-day.

Licio.—Why, doth she wear any but her own?

Pipenetta.—In faith, Sir, no: I am sure it is her own when she pays for it.

The plot of *Mother Bombie* (printed in 1594 and 1598) relates principally to two fathers, one of whom has a foolish son, and the other a silly daughter, but neither of them knowing that the offspring of the other is half-witted. The object of the two old men is to impose their children upon each other, and this absurd scheme is absurdly enough conducted without much wit or drollery. *Mother Bombie*, 'the cunning woman of Rochester', is resorted to by various parties for information as to future events, and hence the title of the play. The only portion of it at all amusing is a scene between some mischievous pages and a hackneyman, who had lent one of them a horse: the description of the animal, which, among other perfections, 'was so obedient that he would do duty every minute on his knees, as though every stone had been his father', seems imitated, in some degree, from Berni's praise of a mule that had been lent to him by a friend, beginning—

'*Dal piu profondo e tenebroso centro*,'¹ etc.,

¹ *Rime Piacevoli del Berni, Copetta, Francesi*, etc., edit. Vicenza, 1609, vol. ii, fol. 4 b.

and would show, as was most probable, that Lyly was acquainted with the Italian poets.

A passage in *The Maid's Metamorphosis* (attributed doubtfully to Lyly, and printed anonymously in 1600), was imitated from Spenser's *Fairy Queen*. This production is a pretty pastoral, chiefly in rhyme, some of the comic scenes between shepherd-boys and the page of a courtier being the only part of the performance in prose. Philander and Orestes are employed to carry away and murder Eurymene, a beautiful virgin of low parentage, with whom Ascanio, a king's son, had fallen desperately in love. They take compassion upon her, and leave her in a wood, where a forester and a shepherd fall in love with her. She is followed by the prince, but is sought in vain; and he exclaims in his despair, very prettily—

‘Adorned with the presence of my love,
The woods, I fear, such secret power shall prove,
As they'll shut up each path, hide every way,
Because they still would have her go astray,
And in that place would always have her seen,
Only because they would be ever green,
And keep the winged choristers still there
To banish winter clean out of the year.’

Some pleasing variety is then given to the scene by the intervention of Juno, Iris, and Somnus, who produce for Ascanio a vision of Eurymene, after which the fairies are introduced, singing and dancing to very sprightly music—

‘By the moon we sport and play,
With the night begins our day :
As we dance the dew doth fall.
Trip it, little urchins all,
Lightly as the little bee,
Two by two, and three by three,
And about go we, and about go we.’

Fairies, as has been seen, are several times employed in Lyly's plays, but this is the first time he has made them vocal—

'First Fairy.—I do come about the copse,
Leaping upon flowers' tops :
Then I get upon a fly,
She carries me above the sky ;
And trip and go.

Second Fairy.—When a dew-drop falleth down,
And doth light upon my crown,
Then I shake my head and skip ;
And about I trip.

Third Fairy.—When I feel a girl asleep,
Underneath her frock I peep,
There to sport, and there I play,
And I bite her like a flea ;
And about I skip.'

The introduction of the 'flea' seems not judicious, and might easily have been avoided by the words 'till 'tis day', or some others ; but 'flea' was then pronounced etymologically, *fley*.

The title of *The Maid's Metamorphosis* is derived from this circumstance :—Apollo falls in love with Eurymene, and boasts of his power as a god : she calls upon him to prove it by changing her sex, and he complies, and is caught in his own trap. Eurymene has afterwards reason to regret her metamorphosis ; and the Muses, at the instance of Arimanthus, a wizard (who turns out to be the father of Eurymene, and a banished nobleman), induce Apollo to relent, and to restore the lady to her sex, after which she is united to Ascanio. It is in the following description of the spring, near which the Graces and Muses inhabit, that a not very close imitation of Spenser is found—

'Then in these verdant fields, all richly dyed
 With nature's gifts and Flora's painted pride,
 There is a goodly spring, whose crystal streams,
 Beset with myrtles, keep back Phœbus' beams :
 There in rich seats, all wrought of ivory,
 The Graces sit, listening the melody.
 The warbling birds do from their pretty bills
 Unite in concord as the brook distils,
 Whose gentle murmur, with his buzzing notes,
 Is as a base unto their hollow throats.¹
 Garlands, beside, they wear upon their brows,
 Made of all sorts of flowers earth allows,
 From whence such fragrant sweet perfumes arise,
 As you would swear that place is Paradise.'

In the piece last noticed, Lyly introduced some blank-verses ; but his *Woman in the Moon* (printed in 1597 and 1601), with the exception of a few couplets, is entirely in that form of composition : it is, however, the blank-verse of a person accustomed to rhyme. Nature, in order to satisfy the desires of certain Utopian Shepherds, who had no women among them, gives life to the statue of Pandora, bestowing upon her all gifts : the envious planets descend, and declare that they will in turn employ their influence to injure the workmanship of Nature. Saturn first renders Pandora ill-tempered, Jupiter ambitious, Mars quarrelsome, Sol poetical, Venus amorous, etc. Pandora falls in love with every man she meets, and, though married to Stesias, makes secret ap-

¹ *Fairy Queen*, B. II, c. xii, st. 71. With reference to the four lines beginning 'The warbling birds', etc., we must remember, that Spenser himself followed Tasso (*Ger. Lib.*, xvi, 12)—

'Vezzosi augelli infra le verdi fronde,' etc.

And Lyly possibly resorted to the same original : his 'buzzing' notes' is hardly a well-chosen epithet.

pointments with three different shepherds. One of them, named Iphicles, in his transport, tells her :—

‘ Will me to dive for pearl into the sea,
To fetch the feathers of the Arabian bird,
The golden apples from the Hesperian wood,
Mermaid’s glass, Flora’s habiliments,
So may I have Pandora for my love.

Pand.—He that would do all this must love me well.
And why should he love me, and I not him ?
Wilt thou, for my sake, go into yon grove,
And we will sing unto the wild birds’ notes,
And be as pleasant as the western wind,
That kisses flowers, and wantons with their leaves ?’

The reign of Mercury commences next, and he renders Pandora cunning, thievish, fraudulent, and eloquent ; and she soon steals all her husband’s jewels. Luna makes her fickle, new-fangled, and finally insane, and all her lovers discover her falsehood. Iphicles declares,

‘ Had she been constant unto Iphicles,
I would have clad her in sweet Flora’s robes,
Have set Diana’s garland on her head,
Made her sole mistress of my wanton flock,
And sung in honour of her deity,
Where now with tears I curse Pandora’s name.’

And Learchus, another shepherd, says, relieving the formal weight of the other lines by the ease and spirit of the close—

‘ The springs that smil’d to see Pandora’s face,
And leapt above the banks to touch her lips ;
The proud plains dancing with Pandora’s weight,
The jocund trees that vail’d when she came near,
And in the murmur of their whispering leaves
Did seem to say, Pandora is our queen ;

Witness how fair and beautiful she was ;
But now, alone, how false and treacherous.'

Her husband being about to kill Pandora, Nature enters, and declares that she shall no longer remain on earth, but be placed in the orb of one of the planets : choice being allowed to Pandora, she prefers the Moon. Her constant attendant, Gunophilus, is turned into a hawthorn-bush, which Stesias tears up and carries at his back : thus he becomes the 'man', and she 'the woman in the moon'.

Love's Metamorphosis (printed in 1601) was probably the work of Lyly at an advanced period of life, and it has not the recommendation of the ordinary, though rather affected graces of his style. The plot is merely this :—Three Foresters are in love with three cruel Nymphs of Ceres : they complain to Cupid, and he changes the Nymphs, one into a rock, another into a flower, and the third into a bird of Paradise. A rich farmer having cut down the favourite tree of Ceres, containing the enchanted form of Fidele, the goddess punishes him with poverty and famine, and to obtain sustenance he sells his daughter. Ceres then remonstrates with Cupid on the wrong done to her three Nymphs, and he agrees to restore them to their shapes, if Ceres will again render the farmer wealthy and happy. Cupid's interest, on behalf of the farmer, arises out of the faithful attachment of his daughter to a youth whose affections, for a time, had been ensnared by a Syren. The whole is in prose, of which the following, where Nisa speaks of Cupid, is one of the best specimens :—

'No, but I have heard him described at the full, and, as I imagined, foolishly : first, that he should be a god blind and naked, with wings, with bow, with arrows, with firebrands ; swimming sometimes in the sea, and playing sometimes on the shore ; with many other devices which the Painters, being the Poets' apes, have taken as great pains to shadow as they to lie. Can I think that gods, who command all

things, would go naked? What should he do with wings, that knows not where to fly; or he with arrows, that sees not how to aim?'

Although the name of John Lyly is upon the title-page, it may be doubted whether he had any hand in it, as it is so decidedly inferior to his other productions. On the whole, Lyly was rather the poet of expression, than of thought.

ON

GEORGE PEELE AND HIS WORKS.

WHEN Thomas Nash, in 1587, gave Peele the praise of being *primus verborum artifex*, he adopted a phrase which seems happily to describe the character of Peele's poetry: his genius was not bold and original, and he was wanting in the higher qualities of invention; but he had an elegance of fancy, a gracefulness of style, and a melody of versification, which, in the earlier part of his career, was scarcely approached. In applauding Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, Nash, in 1587, wished to bring Marlow's *Tamburlaine* into discredit, because Marlow had, perhaps, by success, given offence to Greene, with whom Nash was on terms of great friendship and intimacy. To this circumstance we must attribute the rather extravagant and hyperbolical terms Nash employs on the occasion, although it is certain that at the date *The Arraignment of Paris* was printed, nothing of the kind, equal to it, had appeared in our language. As Peele's first extant production, it will be necessary to notice it before we proceed to his other dramatic works: all of them may be dismissed with

the greater brevity, because they have been recently twice reprinted by Dyce.¹

The Arraignment of Paris was a Court show, represented before Elizabeth by the children of her chapel, perhaps in the year in which it was printed anonymously, 1584. Its author was then a young man, who had only recently left Christchurch, Oxford; and the piece shows that he had a more correct taste than usually belongs to so early a period of life. It also evinces much facility in the use of the English language: in point of invention it does not deserve any extraordinary degree of praise, since Peele has done little more than dramatisé, and put into agreeable and flowing verse, the apologue of the Judgment of Paris: it derives the title of '*The Arraignment of Paris*', from the circumstance that, towards the close, the Trojan shepherd is brought to trial before Jove for having adjudged the apple of discord to Venus. The defence made by Paris, the description of Queen Elizabeth by Diana, and some other small portions, are in blank-verse, which does not militate against the position we have endeavoured to support elsewhere, that Marlow was the first of our poets who wrote blank-verse for the public stage: *The Arraignment of Paris* was merely a private entertainment in the palace. At this period Lyly was the fashionable Court-poet; and notwithstanding the extravagance of the compliment paid to the Queen at the end, where the apple is adjudged to her, it does not appear that Peele was ever again called upon to furnish a dramatic entertainment.

Rhyme for the purposes of the drama was only used by Peele systematically in this single instance; and as it possesses no peculiar claims to admiration, we do not think it necessary to quote any specimen. As an early writer of

¹ The edition we have used is the second, of 1829, which, in several important particulars, is an improvement upon the first impression of 1828.

dramatic blank-verse, it will be necessary to examine his plays with a little more attention, although he did not adopt it, in those which were publicly performed, until after the adventurous muse of Marlow had led the way. How Peele wrote it for the Court in 1584, two or three years before Marlow's *Tamburlaine* was acted, may be seen by the subsequent extract from his *Arraignement of Paris*. It is part of the 'oration' of the hero in his own defence, before Jupiter and the Immortals assembled in the Bower of Diana.

' And if, in verdict of their forms divine,
My dazzled eye did swerve, or surfeit more
On Venus' face than any face of theirs,
It was no partial fault, but fault of his,
Belike, whose eyesight not so perfect was,
As might discern the brightness of the rest.
And if it were permitted unto men,
Ye Gods ! to parley with your secret thoughts,
There be that sit upon that sacred seat
That would with Paris err in Venus' praise.
But let me cease to speak of error here ;
Sith what my hand, the organ of my heart,
Did give with good agreement of mine eye,
My tongue is void [bold ?] with process to maintain.'

Here it will be remarked that nearly every line is formed alike, and the terminations, if not all monosyllables, are so for the purposes of the verse, which runs with all the regularity and formality of rhyme : it is, in fact, the blank-verse of a person accustomed to write rhyme, and whose ear required a ponderous syllable at the end of each line as a substitute. This remark will, in fact, apply to nearly all the blank-verse

¹ In Vol. i, p. 276, we have already given a specimen of what we may consider Peele's skill for courtly blank-verse : he was then selected, on account of it, to write a long address to old Lord Burghley.

that Peele has left behind him : he rarely varies his lines even by the insertion of a trochee for its termination, and then only as if he used it because it could not be avoided without inconvenience. He seems, in fact, for some time to have deemed this great ornament a defect ; and even in his historical play, *Edward I*, of which more will be said presently, he has been comparatively sparing in the adoption of it.

Of the plays of Peele, written for public representation, we take *The Battle of Alcazar* to be the oldest. The proofs adduced to establish the authorship of Peele are so supported by internal evidence, that we feel no hesitation in assigning it to him.¹ It was written, as far as we can now decide, soon after Marlow's *Tamburlaine*, the success of which encouraged Peele to make an attempt of the same kind, and from which it contains a quotation. Peele himself speaks of his *Battle of Alcazar* in a poem he published in 1589,² and it is known to have been acted in 1591, if not earlier. When it was written, the history of the adventurer Thomas Stukely, who fell in the battle of Alcazar on

‘ Monday, the fourth of August seventy eight ’

(as Peele with particularity gives the date from the mouth of the hero himself) was well remembered ; and he no doubt took the story because it was likely to be popular, because he could abuse the Catholics and compliment Elizabeth, and because it afforded the opportunity of introducing a vast deal of business in the action, and variety in the characters. The plot is conducted with unbounded licence, and the scene is changed from Portugal to Africa, and *vice versa*, at the pleasure and convenience of the author. It is written in an ambitious strain, not very well maintained, as if the writer wished

¹ See Peele's *Works*, by the Rev. A. Dyce, i, xxvii, edit. 1829.

² A *Farewell*, entituled to, etc., Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, anno 1589. Stukely was also the hero of a later play.

to rival the vigour, without the fire and imagination, of Marlow. Undoubtedly the best lines in the piece are some which were meant to flatter the Queen and her government ; but, though harmonious, they give us the idea of labour, and of pumping up on the part of the author to say something fine without attaining his object. The following are some of them—

‘ Sacred, imperial, and holy is her seat,
 Shining with wisdom, love, and mightiness.
 Nature, that everything imperfect made,
 Fortune, that never yet was constant found,
 Time, that defaceth every golden show,
 Dare not decay, remove, or be impure :
 Both Nature, Time, and Fortune all agree
 To bless and serve her royal majesty.
 The wallowing ocean hems her round about,
 Whose raging floods do swallow up her foes,
 And on the rocks their ships in pieces split,
 And even in Spain (where all the traitors dance
 And play themselves upon a sunny day)
 Securely guard the west part of her isle :
 The south the narrow Britain sea begirts,
 Where Neptune sits in triumph to direct
 Their course to hell that aim at her disgrace.
 The German seas along the east do run,
 Where Venus banquets all her water nymphs,
 That with her beauty glancing on the waves
 Disdains the check of fair Proserpina.’

What is here said of Spanish traitors and of the waves swallowing the foes of Elizabeth, may allude to the destruction of the Armada, and would fix the date of the piece in the end of 1588, or in the beginning of 1589. The passage is not very intelligible as it stands, and perhaps something has been lost. The versification of the whole differs little from this specimen, and no pains have been taken by the

author to render his lines less ponderous and monotonous. Couplets are scattered here and there as they could be brought in, and Stukely dies after four lines of rhyme, which is rather an unusual number in succession in this drama.

Warton has traced with considerable patience a degree of resemblance between Peele's *Old Wives' Tale* and Milton's *Comus*; expressing his opinion, which we hardly think well founded, that the latter was derived from the former.¹ It remains to be seen whether each did not make use of the same original narrative, which has not yet come to light:² in the one case, a smooth versifier mingled it with a disgusting quantity of trash and absurdity; in the other case, a noble poet invested it with grandeur and dignity, set off by an equal portion of sweetness and simplicity. *The old Wives' Tale* is nothing but a beldam's story, with little to recommend it but heavy prose and not much lighter blank-verse; and allowing for the early date of its production, Peele seems to have used his materials with very moderate skill, and with the display of but little fancy. Although it was not printed until 1595, it seems to bear marks of having been an early production, perhaps then printed by the author to supply some temporary necessity. That he was often put to severe trials by his poverty, and that he was not very scrupulous as to the mode of obtaining relief³ is evident from his *Merry*

¹ In his edition of Milton's *Minor Poems*, p. 136.

² One incident is met with in *The Three Kings of Colchester*, and no doubt others might be traced. *Vide* Peele's *Works*, i, 205, edit. 1829.

³ One of the latest acts of his life was an imposition attempted (perhaps successfully) upon Lord Burghley: in order to obtain money from that nobleman, in January 1596, he sent to him *The Tale of Troy*, a MS. poem of about 500 lines, as a new production, when, in fact, Peele had printed the piece in 1589, at the end of his '*Farewell*, etc., to Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake'. Peele had been married, and we may hope, from the cause of his death, prior to 1598 (if Meres, in his

Conceited Fests, to the representations of which we are disposed to give more credit than is attached to them by the recent editor of Peele's *Works*. They were published soon after his death, and some of them were made the incidents of a favourite comedy, attributed to Shakespeare, but probably the work of Wentworth Smith, who was Peele's contemporary, and doubtless his acquaintance.¹

Peele's *Famous Chronicle of King Edward the First* is one of our most ancient 'Chronicle Histories' in blank-verse,² and deserves attention rather on this account than because it possesses much merit as a theatrical production. It is in every point of view inferior to Marlow's *Edward II*, which seems to have set the pattern in this species of composition. Peele's characters are not distinct, and only that of the king can be said to be drawn with any degree of force or fidelity: the truth of history is most grossly violated as far as regards the

Palladis Tamia, be correct), that he was at that date a widower. He sent the poem to Lord Burghley by his 'eldest daughter', so that he had more than one. His original letter to the Lord Treasurer on this occasion is among the *Lansdowne MSS.*, vol. 99. It is in a fine bold handwriting; but Peele also wrote a small, cramped, old-English hand, as may be seen in the poetical and playful address he presented to Lord Burghley not long before the old statesman's death; see a former note on page 276 of vol. i.

¹ The earliest known edition of Peele's *Fests* is dated in 1607, and a copy of it was sold among the books of Major Pearson. *The Puritan, or the Widow of Watling Street*, in which Peele figures under the name of George Pieboard, was printed in the same year. He was intimate with Singer, the celebrated low-comedian, and in more than one old MS. it appears that they joined in a joke (rather a stale one), by which they cheated a country-drover out of a sheep.

² It was printed in 1593, and again in 1599; the death of the author, shortly before the last-mentioned year, having perhaps attracted fresh attention to it. It may be reasonably conjectured that it was played some years before it was published. It is reprinted in the last edition of *Dodsley's Old Plays*.

queen, for the purpose of gratifying the popular antipathy to the Spaniards. This, however, is not a point of much importance in our view, if the abandonment of historical accuracy had improved the play: but it renders it more incongruous, and makes the devoted attachment of Edward to his queen a preposterous infatuation. The serious portions are endeavoured to be relieved by some comic scenes, most of which are destitute of humour and full of grossness: from this censure we must however except what relates to Lluellen, Prince of Wales, and his adherents, who diversify the progress of the story by assuming the popular characters of Robin Hood and his merry foresters.

The only part of *Edward the First* that has a fair claim to the epithet good is its opening, which relates to the arrival of the king from Palestine, and the reception of him by the queen mother. There is a degree of royalty and splendour about the air of this scene, which leads us to expect more from the conclusion. It is, nevertheless, but fair to remark, that the later portions have been handed down to us in a state so mutilated, that it is impossible to know in what shape they really came from the pen of the author. The only specimen we shall give is from a speech by the queen mother in the first scene; and here it will be observed that Peele has rather mounted himself upon stilts, than acquired dignity from the natural elevation of his own capacity, and the subject of his verse.

‘ Illustrious England, ancient seat of kings
Whose chivalry hath royaliz’d thy fame,
That, sounding bravely through terrestrial vale,
Proclaiming conquests, spoils, and victories,
Rings glorious echoes through the farthest world !
What warlike nation, train’d in feats of arms,
What barbarous people, stubborn or untam’d,

What climate under the meridian-signs,
 Or frozen zone under his brumal stage,
 Erst have not quak'd and trembled at the name
 Of Britain and her mighty conquerors ?
 Her neighbour realms, as Scotland, Denmark, France,
 Aw'd with her deeds and jealous of her arms,
 Have begg'd defensive and offensive leagues.
 Thus Europe, rich and mighty in her kings,
 Hath fear'd brave England, dreadful in her kings.
 And now, to eternize Albion's champions,
 Equivalent with Trojan's ancient fame,
 Comes lovely Edward from Jerusalem,
 Veering before the wind, ploughing the sea ;
 His stretched sails fill'd with the breath of men
 That through the world admire his manliness.
 And lo ! at last arriv'd in Dover road,
 Longshank, your king, your glory, and our son,
 With troops of conquering lords and warlike knights,
 Like bloody-crested Mars, o'erlooks his host,
 Higher than all his army by the head,
 Marching along as bright as Phœbus' eyes !
 And we, his mother, shall behold our son,
 And England's peers shall see their sovereign.'

It will be observed, that these lines are no improvement upon Peele's usual versification : he seems studious not to admit any variety, as if the excellence of blank-verse consisted mainly in its sounding rotundity.

The best of Peele's dramas, *The Love of King David and fair Bethsabe*, has been over-praised : in our view, it has little to recommend it but harmonious versification. It is quite needless to enter into the story, which is inartificially conducted, the author not feeling warranted in deviating from Scripture history. It is only in this instance that Peele has appeared to be at all sensible that verse, deprived of the orna-

ment of rhyme, required any variety of modulation to make it attractive; but in this respect he has not given himself much trouble, and most of the lines run as monotonously as in his less mature productions. In this respect Marlow outstripped all rivals and contemporaries but one.

In the year when *David and Bethsabe* was printed, 1599, the contest regarding the immoral tendency of theatrical performances having been renewed, it was carried on with increased vigour, and Dr. Rainold's *Overthrow of Stage-Plays* was then published.¹ Peele was then dead; but perhaps one reason for printing *David and Bethsabe*, was to counteract the argument of the unscriptural tendency of dramatic productions; and several religious plays by Chettle, Dekker, Rowley, and others appear to have been brought out about this date or shortly afterwards. Peele's drama unquestionably places the character of 'Israel's sweetest singer' in as favourable a light as possible, and the author deserves credit for omitting nothing that could advance his object. When it was written we have no information, but if before 1590, when the first three books of Spenser's *Fairy Queen* were printed, Peele, like Marlow, must have had access to them in MS. He was without Marlow's excuse for the following plagiarism; and, where there is such a decided inequality between the two poets, we cannot hesitate a moment in giving the priority to Spenser. Joab is speaking of David:

'Beauteous and bright is he among the tribes,
As when the son, attir'd in *glistering* robe,
Comes *dancing* from his *oriental gate*,
And, *bridegroom-like*, *hurls through the gloomy air*
His radiant beams.'

¹ The copy at Bridgewater House, however, is dated 1600. It was printed at Middleburg by Richard Schilders; and reprinted in London in 1629, both impressions in 4to.

Spenser's lines, in *Fairy Queen*, L. i, c. 5, st. 2, are these :—

' At last the golden *oriental gate*
Of greatest heaven 'gan to open fair ;
And Phoebus, fresh as *bridegroom* to his mate,
Came *dancing* forth, shaking his dewy hair,
And *hurl'd his glistering beams through gloomy air.*'

There can be no doubt of the identity of the two quotations, and Spenser, of course, had in his recollection the well-known passage in the Psalms describing the sun coming 'forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber.' This is an instance in which Peele has been the plagiarist ; but in the subsequent example he is clearly the injured party. In the Chorus which probably closed the first act of *David and Bethsabe* (for the old copy is not divided), we find this simile:

' Like as the fatal raven, that in his voice
Carries the dreadful summons of our deaths,
Flies by the fair Arabian spiceries,
Her pleasant gardens, and delightsome parks,
Seeming to curse them with his hoarse exclams,
And yet doth stoop with hungry violence
Upon a piece of hateful carrion ;
So wretched man,' etc.

In Shirley and Chapman's tragedy of *Philip Chabot*, 1639, act iv, we meet with precisely the same figure, very similarly expressed :

' Like crows and carrion birds
They fly ore flowrie meades, cleare springs, fair gardens,
And stoope at carcasses.'

One metaphor in Peele's production has received extraordinary praise: it is said by Hawkins in his *Origin of the English Drama*, to be 'worthy of Æschylus'.

‘ At him the thunder shall discharge his bolt,
And his faire spouse, with bright and fiery wings,
Sit ever burning on his hateful bones.’

The beauty of this expression consists in terming lightning the ‘spouse’ of thunder; and if this be good, which we do not deny, the next line is evidently bad, inasmuch as it would represent lightning as fixed and stationary: the spouse of thunder must be admitted by all to be a very volatile lady. The following speech by David, in favour of Absalom, is a fair specimen of the general style of the piece before us.

‘ But now, my lords and captains, hear his voice
That never yet pierc’d piteous heaven in vain;
Then let it not slip lightly through your ears.
For my sake spare the young man Absalon.
Joab, thyself didst once use friendly words
To reconcile my heart incens’d to him;
If then thy love be to thy kinsman sound,
And thou wilt prove a perfect Israelite,
’Friend him with deeds, and touch no hair of him;
Not that fair hair with which the wanton winds
Delight to play, and love to make it curl,
Wherein the nightingales would build their nests,
And make sweet bowers in every golden tress,
To sing their lover every night asleep.
O, spoil not, Joab, Jove’s fair ornaments;
Which he hath sent to solace David’s soul!
The best, ye see, my lords, are swift to sin:
To sin our feet are wash’d with milk of ro[s]es,
And dried again with coals of lightening.
Oh, Lord! thou seest the proudest sin’s poor slave,
And with his bridle pulls him to the grave.’

These lines, it will be remarked, are like all the rest of Peele’s blank-verse; exhibiting much smoothness, but with a

degree of sameness in the rhythm which fatigues the ear. The only variations upon which he ventures (with the exception of the use of a few trochees at the end of the lines) are the occasional insertion of a redundant syllable, and the rare employment of a word where the accent varies the ordinary monotony.

ON

THOMAS KYD AND HIS WORKS.

THOMAS KYD was an author of great celebrity, and his *Spanish Tragedy* went through more editions than perhaps any play of the time: it is to be recollected, however, that after 1602, the impressions were accompanied by the supplemental scenes and speeches of Ben Jonson, which added so much to the force and beauty of the play, that Kyd's portion of the tragedy is read to some disadvantage.¹ Ben Jonson was

¹ Hawkins, when he printed this piece in his *Origin of the English Drama*, was not aware that these additions were penned by so distinguished a poet as Ben Jonson; and he treats them without ceremony, asserting that they were 'foisted in by the players', and not saying a single syllable in their praise, though he felt bound to subjoin them in a note. It is singular also that Gifford, in his edition of *Ben Jonson's Works*, should pass over these very striking and characteristic additions almost without notice: they represent Ben Jonson in rather a new light, for certainly there is nothing in his own entire plays equalling in pathetic beauty some of his contributions to *The Spanish Tragedy*. In his verses upon Shakespeare he calls our author 'sporting Kyd', an epithet to which he seems to have been led, rather by its punning applicability to the name of Kyd, than because it was characteristic of his style.

paid for some of them in September 1601, and for others in June 1602;¹ but it is clear, from a passage in his *Cynthia's Revels*, played in 1600, that at that date *The Spanish Tragedy* was not in its original shape, as it came from the hands of Kyd: 'Another swears down all that sit about him, that the old Hieronimo, as it was first acted, was the only best and judiciously penned play of Europe'.² Besides *Feronimo* and *The Spanish Tragedy*, Kyd was the translator of *Cornelia*, from the French of Garnier.³ Whether he was older or younger than Marlow, we are without the means of determining; but it seems likely that he was older, and that before he adopted blank-verse, in pursuance of Marlow's example, he had written some plays either in rhyme or prose. His oldest extant play, the first part of *Feronimo* (not published

¹ See Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 334. On the 25th of September 1601, Ben Jonson was paid 40s. for 'writing his additions' in *Feronimo*; and on the 22nd of June 1602, 10l. 'in earnest of a book called *Richard Crookeback*, and for new additions for *Feronimo*'. Henslowe, in both cases, refers to *The Spanish Tragedy* as the second part of the older play, *Feronimo*. The precise amount of the additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* is ascertained by comparing the older printed copy of 1599 with that of 1602, which professes to be 'newly corrected, amended, and enlarged with the new additions of the painter's part and others'. The painter's part was, consequently, the last improvement made by Ben Jonson.

² Reed thought that this expression had reference to the play called on the title *The first part of Feronimo* (also, doubtless, the work of Kyd), and not to *The Spanish Tragedy*; but the discovery of Henslowe's papers leads to a contrary conclusion, and must set the point at rest.

³ It has been suggested by Hawkins (*Origin of the English Drama*, ii, 198), that Kyd also wrote *Soliman and Perseda*, 1599, and Malone has assigned to him, upon mere conjecture, the old *Taming of a Shrew*, 1594: they proceed, however, upon no facts, and there certainly is not anything like sufficient resemblance in point of style to warrant the belief, that Kyd was concerned in their authorship. The old *Taming of a Shrew* bears little or no resemblance to the ordinary style of Kyd.

however until 1605), has about as much rhyme in it as blank-verse, and Kyd does not seem to have ventured then to run the risk of relinquishing a popular attraction. It is to be gathered from another passage in *Cynthia's Revels*, that 'the first part of *Jeronimo*' was brought upon the stage about the year 1588, which seems very probable.

Kyd was a poet of considerable mind, and deserves, in some respects, to be ranked above more notorious contemporaries: his thoughts are often both new and natural; and if in his plays he "dealt largely in blood and death," he only partook of the habit of the time, in which good sense and discretion were often outraged for the purpose of gratifying the crowd. In taste he is inferior to Peele, but in force and character he is his superior; and if Kyd's blank-verse be not quite so smooth, it has decidedly more spirit, vigour, and variety. As a writer of blank-verse, we are inclined, among the predecessors of Shakespeare, to give Kyd the next place to Marlow.

'The first part of *Jeronimo*' was only once printed, and certainly never attracted half the attention that was directed to *The Spanish Tragedy*. It is the earliest play upon record that bears evidence of having been written for a particular performer, a man of unusually small stature, and in many places this circumstance is brought forward.¹ The story is wanting in incident, the love of Don Andrea and Bellimperia, and the death of the first, forming the principal features of it: the scene, however, rapidly changes from Spain to Portugal,

¹ Hence it is evident, that if there be any truth in Dekker's assertion, (controverted by Gifford, *Ben Jonson's Works*, i, xvii), that Ben Jonson originally performed the part of Jeronimo, he must allude not to the tragedy now under consideration, but to *The Spanish Tragedy*, where nothing is said regarding the personal appearance of the hero, or of his representative.

and the deficiency of events is, in some degree, made up for by the bustle and show of hostility between the two kingdoms, in consequence of the refusal of its annual tribute by the latter. As a dramatic production, *Feronimo* is in every respect below *The Spanish Tragedy*, but the language is often striking and the thoughts bold : thus, when Andrea is about to proceed to Lisbon to demand the tribute which had been withheld, Bellimperia expresses her fears that a conflict must ensue between her lover and the young courageous Prince of Portugal. She tells Andrea—

‘Ye ’ll meet like thunder—each imperious
Over other’s spleen; you both have proud spirits,
And both will strive to aspire :
When two vex’d clouds juggle, they strike out fire.’

In this tragedy there is an attempt at character, and not without success : that of the hero, who gives it name, is not so fully made out as in *The Spanish Tragedy* ; but Andrea, and Balthazar his rival, are drawn with decision and force, and the unsuspecting generosity of the former is well opposed to the wily intricacies of Lorenzo, the nephew of the King, and the heir to the Spanish crown. As a specimen of the blank-verse in this play, the subsequent may be taken, and it evinces no little command of language. It is from the speech of Balthazar, before he leads the Portuguese army to the field against Spain.

‘Come, valiant spirits, you peers of Portugal,
That owe your lives, your faiths, and services,
To set you free from base captivity.
Oh ! let our fathers’ scandal ne’er be seen
As a base blush upon our freeborn cheeks.
Let all the tribute that proud Spain received
Of those all captive Portugals deceased,
Turn into chaff and choke their insolence.

Methinks no memory, not one little thought¹
 Of them whose servile acts live in their graves,
 But should raise spleens big as a cannon bullet
 Within your bosoms. Oh ! for honour,
 Your country's reputation, your lives' freedom,
 Indeed your all that may be term'd revenge !
 Now let your bloods be liberal as the sea,
 And all those wounds that you receive of Spain,
 Let theirs be equal to quite yours again.'

Here we see trochees used at the end of the lines, and the pauses are even artfully managed ; while redundant syllables are inserted, and lines left defective, still farther to add to the variety of the measure.

Too strong an epithet is not applied to *The Spanish Tragedy* (or, as it may be fitly termed, the second part of *Jeronimo*), if we call it a very powerful performance. The story has many incongruities and absurdities, and various passages and situations were made the laughing-stock of subsequent dramatists ; but parts of it are in the highest degree pathetic and interesting. It turns upon the love of Horatio, the son of Hieronimo (so he is now called, perhaps because Kyd found, in the interval, that Jeronimo was rather Italian than Spanish) and Belimperia, who, after the death of Andrea, had turned the full tide of her affections upon his young, faithful, and noble friend. Horatio is hanged upon the stage, in the garden of his father, by his rival, the Prince of Portugal, and Lorenzo, the brother of Belimperia, in the commencement of the second act : during the rest of the play, Hieronimo, in a state of distraction, is seeking revenge, and finds it at last

¹ In the old copy the line runs thus :

'Methinks no *moiety*, not one little thought', etc.

which is nonsense ; and the word *moiety* has probably been misprinted for *memory*, which is quite consistent with the sense of the passage.

only in the chance-medley, as it were, of a play represented before the King and the nobility of Spain. The old father is always meditating the punishment of the guilty, and always postponing the execution of his project; so that, in this respect, his character in some degree resembles that of *Hamlet*: the insertion of a play within a play gives the whole tragedy a still greater appearance of similarity to that of Shakespeare. In the fourth act, Hieronimo comes before the King and Court of Spain to demand justice upon the murderers of Horatio, and is put aside by the interference of Lorenzo, (one of the guilty parties), almost without a struggle for a hearing: soon afterwards, the Spanish Ambassador speaks of a ransom due from the Prince of Portugal to Horatio, and at the unexpected mention of his dear son's name, the old man, very naturally, starts from a melancholy abstraction and exclaims,

‘Horatio! Who calls Horatio? . . .

Justice! Oh, justice! justice, gentle king!

King.—Who is that? Hieronimo?

Hier.—Justice! Oh, justice! O my son, my son!

Lorenzo.—Hieronimo, you are not well advis’d.

Hier.—Away, Lorenzo! hinder me no more,

For thou hast made me bankrupt of my bliss.

Give me my son! you shall not ransom him.’

He sees nothing but Horatio in every face he looks upon, and all objects take their colour and appearance from his sorrows. His grief is not as sublime, but it is as intense, as that of Lear; and he dwells upon the image of his lost Horatio with not less doting agony than Constance, when she exclaims

‘Grief fills the room up of my absent child,’ etc.

The other characters are all far inferior to that of Hieronimo. Whole passages of this play are in rhyme, but the jingle is less frequent towards the close, after the author thought he had sufficiently engaged the interest and attention

of his hearers. The blank-verse can hardly be said to be any improvement upon that of 'the first part of *Feronimo*': one short extract from a speech of Belimperia, to her brother Lorenzo, who had confined her in a tower after the murder of Horatio, will be sufficient.

'What means this outrage that is offered me?
Why am I thus sequester'd from the Court?—
No notice? Shall I not know the cause
Of these my secret and suspicious ills?
Accursed brother! unkind murderer!
Why bend'st thou thus thy mind to martyr me?
Hieronimo, why writ I of thy wrongs,¹
Or, why art thou so slack in thy revenge?
Andrea! Oh Andrea! that thou sawest
Me for thy friend Horatio handled thus,
And him for me thus causeless murdered!
Well, force perforce, I must constrain myself
To patience, and apply me to the time,
Till heaven, as I have hop'd, shall set me free.'

Kyd's *Cornelia* merely requires notice as a successful translation for the time at which it appeared: it was printed in 1594, but it was not intended for the stage; and it was so much liked as an unacted play, that in the following year it arrived at a second impression.

We insert a short specimen from the chorus to act iv, in order to show the facility with which Kyd wrote in lyrical measure.

'He only lives most happily
That, free and far from majesty,
Can live content, although unknown;
He fearing none, none fearing him,
Meddling with nothing but his own,
While gazing eyes at crowns grow dim.'

¹ She had secretly sent a letter to Hieronimo, informing him who were the murderers of Horatio.

ON

THOMAS LODGE AND HIS WORKS.

As a poet, Lodge is to be placed in a rank superior to Greene, and in some respects inferior to Kyd. Greene's love of natural beauty was overlaid by a mass of affectation and conceit which rarely allowed it to appear, and to a certain degree he was imitated by Lodge, with whom he was intimate, and with whom he wrote one dramatic performance. The love of natural beauty in Lodge, however, sometimes breaks through the fanciful allusions and artificial ornaments with which he endeavoured to adapt himself to the taste of the time. It is not our business to investigate the character of Lodge's poetry beyond its connection with the stage, but his various pastoral and lyrical pieces contain specimens of beautiful versification, elegant thoughts, and natural imagery. It is well known that Shakespeare took the story of his *As you like it* from a novel by Lodge, first published in 1590 under the title of *Rosalynde*, and subsequently often reprinted. Of this production it may be said (and no higher praise can well be given to it), that our admiration of many portions of it will not be diminished by a comparison with the work of our great dramatist.¹

Lodge is second to Kyd in vigour and boldness of concep-

¹ It is supposed that Lodge was born about 1556, and that after having been a player, he became in 1584 a student of Lincoln's Inn, and subsequently (at what date is uncertain) a Doctor of Medicine: probably when he went on a voyage with Cavendish, in 1592, it was in the capacity of surgeon to the expedition. In 1596, he published his *Fig for Momus*, consisting of Satires, Eclogues, and Epistles, all of which have various

tion, but as a drawer of character (so essential a part of dramatic poetry) he unquestionably has the advantage, a point that is fully exemplified by his historical play, called *The Wounds of Civil War, lively set forth in the true tragedies of Marius and Sylla*. We can hardly call it a work of genius, but unquestionably it required no common talent to produce it. The only edition of it was published in 1594, but it had then been some years upon the stage. Lodge commenced author about 1586, when he wrote a defence of theatrical performances, and had perhaps, at that early date, produced, or been concerned in some plays; but *The Wounds of Civil War* was not written until after 1586, and the greater part of it is in blank-verse. One circumstance, which may lead to the opinion that *The Wounds of Civil War* was not performed long after the appearance of Marlow's *Tamberlaine the Great*, is that it contains a scene imitated from, and intended to rival one in that most applauded production. It is in act iii, where Sylla returns victor over Mithridates, and, seated in a triumphant car, is drawn upon the stage by Moors and captive Princes.

The characters of old Marius and of his younger rival are degrees of merit, and in some pieces it is of a high order, especially his Satires. Heywood, in his *Troja Britannica*, 1609, mentions Lodge as one of the famous physicians of the day; and he was living in 1616, as is proved by the following extract from the Register of the Privy Council of that year.

'Jany. 10, 1616.—A passe for Tho. Lodge, Doctor of Physic, and Henry Savell, gent., to travell into the Arch-Duke's Country, to recover such debts as are due unto them there, taking with them two servants, and to returne awayne within five moneths.'

It seems likely, therefore, that Lodge at one time acquired considerable property by his practice, though late in life we find him translating Seneca, to increase his pecuniary means. He must have been personally known to Shakespeare.

painted in *The Wounds of Civil War* with great force, spirit, and distinctness, a task the more difficult, because they so strongly resembled each other in the great leading features of ambition and cruelty. Marius possesses, however, far more generosity and sterner courage than Sylla, who is impetuously tyrannical and wantonly severe; and the old Roman until his death, after his seventh consulship, absorbs the interest of the reader. Young Marius is also introduced, and is distinguished by his fortitude, his constancy, and his affection for his father. Antony is another prominent personage, and is represented gifted with irresistible eloquence, of which many not unfavourable specimens are inserted. There are two females, Cornelia and Fulvia, the wife and daughter of Sylla; the one remarkable for her matronly firmness, and the other for her youthful delicacy and tenderness, which however do not prevent her conducting herself with the resolution becoming a Roman maid. A Clown and various coarsely comic characters are employed in two scenes, in order to enliven and vary the performance; but they deserve no farther notice, and might well have been omitted: Lodge certainly had no comic powers. The plot of the tragedy (which may be seen reprinted in Vol. viii of the edition of *Dodsley's Old Plays* in 1825) is founded chiefly upon the lives of Marius and Sylla, in Plutarch, and the scene is changed, just as the necessities of the poet required, from Rome to Pontus, Minturnum and Numidia.¹

The blank-verse of Lodge runs with even more monotony

¹ Dramatic proprieties are little observed: Plutarch represents that the assassin employed to kill Marius on this occasion was a Gaul, and accordingly Lodge makes him a Frenchman, speaking broken English and scraps of his own language. This person swears *Par le sang de Dieu*, *Jesu*, etc.; and Marius himself, 'By our Lady'. Towards the close, a clown talks in Rome of the *Paul's steeple of honour* as the highest point that can be attained.

than is found in the dramatic pieces of his contemporaries, Peele and Greene: he now and then inserts an additional syllable, for convenience rather than by design; but he seems studiously to avoid the use of trochees at the ends of his lines, as if he considered them a defect, and that the verse ought to close with an emphatic and accented monosyllable. Of this opinion there are several striking proofs in the play: in one scene, Sylla says to his flying army,

‘Are you the wonder’d legions of the world,
And will you fly these shadows of *resist*?’

If Lodge had not thought that a trochee at the end of a line ought to be avoided, he would, of course, have written ‘resistance’ instead of ‘resist’, which is an awkward and needless conversion of a verb into a substantive. Another instance of the use of the same word, for the same reason, occurs afterwards, when Lucretius speaks to Tuditanus of the resolute opposition of young Marius and his followers at Præneste:

‘Their valour, Tuditanus, and *resist*,
The manlike fight of younger Marius,
Makes me amaz’d to see their miseries.’

So far did Lodge carry this notion, that he rarely terminates a verse with a word of the same quantity as that which closes the last of the preceding lines. Some long speeches are in rhyme, and stanzas and couplets are numerous throughout, tending to establish that it was an early performance after the first introduction of blank-verse upon the common stage. One point connected with the rhyme of this play merits observation: Lodge often uses triplets, a circumstance of rare occurrence in other dramatic poets preceding Shakespeare. The following, from one of the speeches of Antony, may be taken as a sufficient specimen of the smoothness as well as weight of the versification of Lodge: it is addressed

to Sylla, to dissuade him from executing the bold and sturdy Granius :—

‘Aye, but the milder passions show the man ;
For as the leaf doth beautify the tree,
The pleasant flowers bedeck the painted spring,
Even so in men of greatest reach and power,
A mild and piteous thought augments renown.
Old Antony did never see, my lord,
A swelling shower did continue long,
A climbing tower that did not taste the wind,
A wrathful man not wasted with repent.
I speak of love, my Sylla, and of joy
To see how fortune lends a pleasant gale
Unto the spreading sails of thy desires ;
And loving thee must counsel thee withal :
For as, by cutting, fruitful vines increase,
So faithful counsels work a prince’s peace.’

This passage, in the word ‘repent’ for repentance, affords another instance of the constraint Lodge put upon himself in order to preserve the weight at the conclusion of his lines. The whole scene which relates to the capture of Cornelia and Fulvia, their contempt of death, and their liberation from the fear of it by the magnanimity of Marius, is finely written, making allowance for the system to which Lodge subscribed.

The dramatic performance which Lodge produced in conjunction with Robert Greene, and which was first printed in 1594,¹ must, of course, have been written prior to September 1592, when Greene died. The whole scope of it seems to be to counteract the puritanical notion, that dramatic amusements were antisciptural and profane. It applies the story of Nineveh to the City of London, the prophet Oseas being

¹ A unique copy of this edition is among the many dramatic rarities of the Duke of Devonshire.

introduced as a speaker ; and after every scene, in which some fresh crime or vice is portrayed, he warns the inhabitants of the metropolis, lest they also in the same manner incur the wrath of heaven. His speeches, with one exception, are in rhyme, and of these the subsequent will be as long a specimen as is necessary.

‘ Iniquity seeks out companions still,
And mortal men are armed to do ill.
London, look on, this matter nips thee near ;
Leave off thy riot, pride, and sumptuous cheer.
Spend less at board, and spare not at the door,
But aid the infant and relieve the poor ;
Else seeking mercy, being merciless,
Thou be adjudg’d to endless heaviness.’

Adultery, incest, murder, bribery, usury, drunkenness, etc., with their evil consequences, are exhibited in turn ; and in order to accomplish this object the most incongruous matter is introduced, giving the manners of London as those of Nineveh, and mixing up Rasni and his queen and concubines with the knaves, lawyers, usurers, and beggars of the metropolis. It however contains a severe satire and moral lecture, and the authors seem to have had no scruple in speaking out ; but the censure is always general, and perhaps never had any particular application. Jonas, ‘ cast out of the whale ’ upon the stage, laments over the state of Israel, and after Oseas has taken his departure, he too warns the inhabitants of Nineveh to repent. Rasni and his adherents accordingly put on sackcloth and ashes, and the face of things is entirely changed ; for, instead of shouts and revellings, nothing but lamentations and prayers are heard on every side, and Nineveh, by the mouth of Jonas, is forgiven : he thus moralises in the conclusion of the performance.

‘Wend on in peace and prosecute this course,
You islanders, on whom the milder air
Doth sweetly breathe the balm of kind increase,
Whose lands are fattened with the dew of heaven,
And made more fruitful than Actean plains.
You, whom delicious pleasures dandle soft,
Whose eyes are blinded with security,
Unmask yourselves, cast error clean aside.’

He then likens the crimes of London to those of Nineveh, and ends with the following extravagant compliment to Queen Elizabeth—

‘And think the prayers and virtues of thy Queen
Defer the plague which otherwise would fall.
Repent, oh London ! lest for thine offence
Thy shepherd fail, whom mighty God preserve,
That she may bide the pillar of his church
Against the storms of Romish Antichrist :
The hand of mercy overshadow her head,
And let all faithful subjects say, Amen.’

This is scarcely more absurd than all the rest of the performance, which is wearisomely dull, although the authors have endeavoured to lighten the burden by the introduction of scenes of drunken buffoonery between a ‘clown and his crew of ruffians’, and between the same clown and a person, disguised as the devil, in order to frighten him, but who is detected and well beaten. There was no such marked difference between the styles of Greene and Lodge as to enable us to decide which part of the play was written by the one and which by the other ; but the whole is more like an old miracle-play, than a drama of the time of Elizabeth.

ON
THOMAS NASH AND HIS WORKS.

NASH, who as a wit and a satirist was superior to all his contemporaries, as a dramatic poet must be placed below most of them. He has left behind him only one performance—*Summer's Last Will and Testament*—which is not to be regarded so much in the light of a play as of a show: it was exhibited before Elizabeth, at Nonsuch, in the autumn of the year 1592, although not printed until eight years afterwards. He was also concerned with no less a man than Marlow, in penning *The Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage*, printed in 1594, and apparently written previous to 1590: it was acted in the presence of the Queen, by the children of her Chapel. The portions which belong to each author are to be traced without much difficulty, for a reason which we shall state hereafter. Nash likewise wrote a satirical play (at least such we must suppose it to have been), which has been already noticed, called *The Isle of Dogs*, in consequence of which he was for some time imprisoned.¹

Nash's talent was satirical and vituperative, rather than

¹ It was never printed. In *The Trimming of Thomas Nash*, 1597, by Gabriel Harvey, there is a rude wood-cut of a man in fetters, meant for Nash, and in allusion to the imprisonment arising out of his *Isle of Dogs*. How long the fame of the literary contest between Nash and Harvey survived, may be judged from a tract called *General Marsey's Bartholomew's Fairings*, 1647, the last lines of which are these:

'Ne'er look to die: thou shalt be laugh'd at still,
Longer than *Nash's Harvey*, or Triplett's Gill.'

'Triplett's Gill' we are unable to explain: perhaps Gill, is Gill of Brentford, or some satire under the name of Rabelais' fool, *Triboulet*.

humorous, as appears by his tracts against Martin Marprelate, and by his contest with Gabriel Harvey, regarding Robert Greene.¹ He had a vigorous understanding, well stored with scholarship, and he was capable of giving powerful descriptions of things, and striking characters of persons. His *Supplication of Pierce Penniless to the Devil*, 1592, contains a very original and awful picture of the agonies of a repentant spirit, which was followed up, though with less effect, in his *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*, 1593. He led a very irregular life and was dead in the year 1600, as appears by an epitaph upon him in C. Fitzgeoffrey's *Affaniae*, printed in that year.²

¹ A tract by Nash is preserved in the library at Bridgewater House, which we have found nowhere else, and we do not recollect to have seen it mentioned in the lists of Nash's productions. It is curious not only on this account, but because it shows the high reputation of Daniel's collection of Sonnets, published under the title of *Delia*, twice printed in 1592, and throws new light upon the productions of a dramatic poetess of some celebrity. It is called '*The Terrors of the Night, or a Discourse of Apparitions, etc.*' Thomas Nash.—London, printed by John Danter, for William Jones, etc., 1594.' It is dedicated to Mistress Elizabeth Carey, 'sole daughter' of Sir George Carey, Knight. 'Miraculous (says Nash) is your wit, and so is acknowledged by the wittiest poets of our age, who have vowed to enshrine you as their second *Delia*'; and he subsequently thus continues: 'A worthie daughter are you of so worthie a Mother, borrowing (as another Phœbe from her bright sunne-like resplendauce) the orient beames of your radiaunce. Into the Muses' societie herself she hath lately adopted, and purchast divine Petrarch another monument in England.' What work the mother had translated from Petrarch nowhere appears; but we apprehend the daughter is the same who afterwards wrote the tragedy of *Myriam, the fair Queen of Jewry*, not printed until 1613. In the body of *The Terrors of the Night*, Nash expresses his great obligations to Sir George Carey, probably of a pecuniary kind: 'Through him my tender wainscot studie doore is delivered from much assault and batterie: through him I look into and am looked on in the world, from whence otherwise I were a wretched banished exile.'

² The following character of Nash, from a rare tract by Thomas

Summer's Last Will and Testament would require but a short notice, even if it had not been reprinted in the last edition of *Dodsley's Old Plays*. It makes no pretension to diversity of character in the persons, nor to interest in the plot: the only part in it which can lay claim to anything like individuality, is that of Will Summer [or Sommers] the well-known and often mentioned jester of Henry VIII, who inserts interlocutions during the performance, which was intended merely to please by the variety of its shows, and a certain degree of ingenuity in its construction. The piece depends upon a sort of pun, or confusion, between the name of the jester and the division of the year which corresponds with that name. As it was acted in the autumn of 1592, Summer is appropriately represented in the last stage of his life, calling all his attendants about him, and by making his will, preparing for death. The other seasons are also conspicuous personages in the exhibition, which is tedious, notwithstanding Nash has shown great skill, and some wit, in introducing nearly every thing that ancient and modern learning could supply to aid his purpose. It has, however, few passages of poetical merit, and that only of a secondary description: the best of these is unquestionably the following lines given to *Solstitium*.

‘I never lov’d ambitiously to climb,
Or thrust my hand too far into the fire.

Dekker, called *Newes from Hell*, 1606, is worth quoting:—‘And thou, into whose soul, if ever there were a Pythagorean *metempsychosis*, the raptures of that fiery and inconfineable Italian spirit were bounteously and boundlessly infused, thou sometime Secretary to Pierce Penniless, and Master of his Requests, ingenious, ingenuous, fluent, facetious T. Nash; from whose abundant pen honey flowed to thy friends, and mortal aconite to thy enemies—thou that made the Doctor [Harvey] a flat dunce, and beat him at two sundry tall weapons, poetry and oratory, sharpest satire, luculent poet, elegant orator, get leave for thy ghost to come from her abiding, and to dwell with me awhile.’

To be in heaven sure is a blessed thing,
But, Atlas-like, to prop heaven on one's back
Cannot but be more labour than delight.
Such is the state of men in honour placed :
They are gold vessels made for servile uses ;
High trees that keep the weather from low houses,
But cannot shield the tempest from themselves.
I love to dwell betwixt the hills and dales,
Neither to be so great to be envied,
Nor yet so poor the world should pity me.'

This is a favourable specimen, also, of Nash's blank-verse ; and it contains almost the only instances of the employment of trochees at the ends of lines, from the beginning to the conclusion of the performance. Nash seems, like most of our early writers of 'English iambics', to have held that they ought properly to close with an accented syllable. Neither is he in the habit of varying his measure by other expedients ; so that it runs with a degree of sameness that would hardly be endurable if a great part of his production were not in prose, which often comes to the relief of the ear.

It is chiefly the circumstance of the monotony of Nash's versification which enables us to judge what parts of the tragedy of *Dido* proceeded from his pen, and what other parts from that of his coadjutor, Marlow. In the scenes, however, in which we apprehend the hand of the latter is visible, there is not only greater variety of rhythm, pause, and modulation in the verse, but a nobler and a richer vein of poetry. On these accounts it will be necessary to examine this production with a little more attention than we have bestowed upon Nash's unaided effort.

Taken as a whole, *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, must be pronounced a very graceful and beautiful poem, although the description of the taking and sacking of Troy is in some

places inflated almost to absurdity. This we consider one portion which Nash contributed : he has made up for his want of true poetic genius in descriptive passages, by the extravagance of his thoughts and images. In these respects it very much rivals the player's speech in *Hamlet* (act ii, scene 2), on the same subject. According to Nash, Pyrrhus first strikes off old Priam's hands—

‘ At which the frantic queen leap’d on his face,
And in his eyelids hanging by the nails,
A little while prolong’d her husband’s life.
At last the soldiers pull’d her by the heels,
And swung her howling in the empty air,
Which sent an echo to the wounded king :
Wnereat he lifted up his bed-rid limbs,
And would have grappled with Achilles’ son,
Forgetting both his want of strength and hands ;
Which he disdainng, whisk’d his sword about,
And *with the wind thereof* the king fell down :
Then from the navel to the throat at once
He ripp’d old Priam, at whose latter gasp
Jove’s marble statue ’gan to bend his brow,
As loathing Pyrrhus for this wicked act.’¹

Here we have substituted *wind* for *wound*, as it stands in the old copy, in conformity, probably, with the author’s meaning, and with the following corresponding lines in *Hamlet*—

‘ Pyrrhus at Priam drives ; in rage strikes wide,
But with the whiff and *wind* of his fell sword
The unnerved father falls.’

Besides, the *wound* was given subsequently, as is evident from the lines that succeed.

The whole passage is spoken by Æneas, describing the de-

¹ In our extracts from this most rare play we have employed the original 4to. of 1594, in the library at Bridgewater House.

struction of Troy to the Queen of Carthage. The story is conducted much as in Virgil (who is even quoted by the characters in two instances), but a pretty scene is made out of what is said in the original regarding the substitution by Venus of Cupid for Ascanius: Dido takes him to her arms, and Cupid wounds her with a dart he had concealed for the purpose: she almost instantly begins to loathe her suitor Iarbas, and to doat upon Æneas. This scene, and one or two that follow it, we have little hesitation in assigning to Marlow. Soon after she is secretly wounded, Dido exclaims—

‘ Oh, dull-conceited Dido, that till now
Did never think Æneas beautiful !
But now, for quittance of this oversight,
I’ll make me bracelets of his golden hair ;
His glistening eyes shall be my looking-glass,
His lips an altar, where I’ll offer up
As many kisses as the sea hath sands.
Instead of music I will hear him speak.
His looks shall be my only library,
And thou, Æneas, Dido’s treasury,
In whose fair bosom I will lock more wealth
Than twenty thousand Indias can afford.’

Shortly afterwards she tells Æneas (who has besought her to repair his ships), in a similar strain of poetical luxuriance—

‘ I’ll give thee tackling made of rivel’d gold
Wound on the barks of odoriferous trees,
Oars of massy ivory, full of holes
Through which the water shall delight to play :
Thy anchors shall be hewed from crystal rocks,
Which, if thou lose, shall shine above the waves :
The masts whereon thy swelling sail shall hang,
Hollow pyramids of silver plate ;

The sails of folded lawn, where shall be wrought
The wars of Troy—but not Troy's overthrow.'

In these beautiful passages the rhythm, we think, is essentially different from that of Nash, and lines are even left imperfect for the sake of variety : Nash would, perhaps, have written—

'Hollow *pyramides* of silver plate'—

by which the mere metre might have been improved, but the general beauty of the quotation lessened by the constant recurrence of the same cadence. Dido afterwards sends for the tackling of the refitted ships of Æneas, in order that he may not escape unawares, and in an exquisite strain of poetry reproaches them, as if they had life and sense, and wished ungratefully to contribute to her misery—

'Is this the wood that grew in Carthage plains,
And would be toiling in the watery billows
To rob their mistress of her Trojan guest?
Oh, cursed tree ! hadst thou but wit or sense
To measure how I prize Æneas' love,
Thou wouldst have leapt from out the sailor's hands,
And told me that Æneas meant to go :
And yet I blame thee not—thou art but wood.'

In the same spirit she elsewhere bursts out—

'O ! that I had a charm to keep the winds
Within the closure of a golden ball ;
Or that the Tyrrhene sea were in mine arms,
That he might suffer shipwreck on my breast,
As oft as he attempts to hoist up sail.'

When afterwards Æneas cannot be prevailed upon to remain, she exclaims—

'Thy mother was no goddess, perjurd man,
Nor Dardanus the author of thy stock ;
But thou art sprung from Scythian Caucasus,

And Tigers of Hyrcania gave thee suck.
 Ah, foolish Dido, to forbear thus long ! . . .
 Why star'st thou in my face ? If thou wilt stay,
 Leap in mine arms : mine arms are open wide :
 If not, turn from me, and I'll turn from thee ;
 For though thou hast the power to say farewell,
 I have not power to stay thee.'

Although there is a marked superiority in the versification of some parts of the play over others, we may conclude with sufficient certainty, that it was produced before Marlow had himself acquired that degree of excellence in the formation of blank-verse which he had attained when he produced his *Edward II.* : in the piece itself, however, there is nothing by which we can at all fix the date at which it was written. It seems likely that Nash and Marlow became acquainted not very long after the former had come to London, and had assisted his friend Greene by writing the Epistle before his *Menaphon*, 1587 : it is easy to suppose that although Nash there laughs a little at the expense of Marlow, who had then, perhaps, only brought out his *Tamburlaine*, yet that he soon became sensible of his extraordinary and original powers.

ON

HENRY CHETTLE, ANTHONY MUNDAY,
 AND ROBERT WILSON.

BETWEEN February 1597, and March 1603, as we find by Henslowe's *Diary*, Henry Chettle was concerned, more or less, in the production of no fewer than eight-and-thirty plays

on a great variety of subjects, only four of which have been printed and have descended to us. By a letter from him to Thomas Nash, published by the latter in his *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, 1596, and signed 'Your old Compositor', it seems that Chettle had been originally a printer, and having thus become acquainted with dramatic authors, he at length made a similar attempt himself, and succeeded. There is good reason to believe that he had written for the stage prior to 1592, when he published Greene's posthumous *Groatsworth of Wit*; and on this account it will be necessary, with as much brevity as possible, to examine such of his pieces as are still in existence. We shall first speak of a tragedy on which he appears to have been alone engaged, and we shall afterwards notice some of his earlier coadjutors, who, we may also conclude, had produced plays anterior to the time of Shakespeare's popularity.

The tragedy of *Hoffman, or a Revenge for a Father*, is a revolting mass of blood and murder, in which it must have been the author's object to concentrate all the horrors he could multiply. It was not printed until it came out anonymously in 1631; but, by an entry among Henslowe's papers, it appears that it was in existence in December 1602, and that Henry Chettle was the author of it.¹

The scene is laid on the shores of the Baltic, near to which the Duke of Prussia keeps his Court, and is visited by the Dukes of Saxony and Austria. The foundation of the tragedy is the execution of Admiral Hoffman, father of the hero, as a pirate (after he had long served the Duke of Lunenburg), by placing a red-hot crown of iron upon his head, then

¹ The tragedy of *Hoffman* could hardly be older than 1598, for in the beginning of act ii Prince Jerome mentions *The Mirror of Knighthood*, which, having been translated from the Spanish by Margaret Tyler, was printed in that year.

paring the flesh from his bones, and finally exposing his skeleton upon a gallows. This skeleton young Hoffman, the son and the hero of the tragedy, steals by night, and retiring to a lone cavern near a wood on the coast, hangs it up as a memento of revenge. Prince Otho of Lunenburg is his first victim : he is shipwrecked, and Hoffman, assisted by a faithless servant of the prince, named Lorrique, murders him by placing a red-hot iron crown on his head, and then suspends his body by the side of old Hoffman's skeleton. Young Hoffman then disguises himself like the prince, and, followed by Lorrique, whom he induces to favour the deception, passes himself off as the shipwrecked young Otho of Lunenburg. By various artifices he is able in this character to compass his revenge against many of those who had been concerned in the murder of his father, but his expedients are in general clumsy and improbable. The most ingenious is one in which he induces Lodowick, son to the Duke of Saxony, to fly, in the dress of a Greek, with Lucibel, daughter of the Duke of Austria : he then informs Mathias, the brother of Lucibel, of the disgrace brought on the family by her supposed infidelity (she having been betrothed to Lodowick) : Mathias pursues and overtakes them, kills the supposed Greek, and wounds Lucibel, who afterwards goes mad. Hoffman also personates Roderick (a hermit, in whose cell the scene is often laid, and who turns out to be a long-lost brother to the Duke of Saxony), and Lorrique assumes the character of a French doctor, upon whose recommendation several of the persons most obnoxious to Hoffman swallow poisonous drugs. In the whole, six or seven characters are thus disposed of, while Hoffman is unsuspected, and at last is adopted by the Duke of Prussia heir to his kingdom, setting aside the claim of a foolish son Jerome. The whole plot is confusedly and most violently conducted, and the catastrophe is brought about by

the weakness of the hero, who falls in love with the old Duchess Martha, the mother of the Prince whom he was personating. She leads Hoffman to the lonely part of the shores of the Baltic (where he had deposited the bones of his father and of the prince), under the pretence of gratifying his amorous desires, and there he is surprised by a body of armed men placed in ambush. He in turn dies by the iron crown.

The quantity of blood shed in the tragedy seems long to have rendered it popular; and on the title-page it is stated that it had been 'divers times acted with great applause at the Phoenix in Drury Lane'. If the design of Chettle was to excite pity and terror, he has defeated his own end by his extravagance. As to the language of the piece, it has been handed down to us in a state of deplorable mutilation, and the printer murdered the author with as little remorse as the author murdered his characters. It is impossible to say how much of the piece, in 1631, was composed of the interpolations of subsequent writers or performers, and the glimpses here and there of something good are often disfigured by rant and absurdity.¹ Unquestionably the best scene in the tragedy, as it stands, is that in which Hoffman, aided by his

¹ To quote literally the first eight lines of the tragedy will enable the reader to judge of the injustice that has probably been done to Chettle by the printer. Hoffman speaks, looking at the skeleton of his father, which is disclosed by his striking open a curtain—

'Hence, clouds of melancholy!
Ile be no longer subject to your sismes.
But thou, deare soule, whose nerves and artires
In dead resoundings summon up revenge—
And thou shalt hate, be but appeas'd, sweet hearse,
The dead remembrance of my living father,
And with a hart as air, swift as thought,
I'le excuse justly in such a cause.'

Here it is pretty obvious that a line or more has been lost after the

accomplice Lorrique, is about to murder the Duchess Martha, with whom, absurdly enough, he afterwards falls in love : she is represented asleep on the stage—

‘Hoffman.—She stirs not : she is fast.—

Sleep, sweet fair Duchess, for thou sleep’st thy last.

Endymion’s love, muffle in clouds thy face,

And all ye yellow tapers of the heavens,

Veil your clear brightness in Cimmerian mists :

Let not one light my black deed beautify,

For with one stroke virtue and honour die.

And yet we must not kill her in this kind ;

Weapons draw blood, blood shed will plainly prove

The worthy Duchess, worthless of her death,

Was murdered ; and the guard are witnesses

None enter’d but ourselves.

Lorrique.—Then strangle her : here is a towel, sir . . .

Nay, good my lord, dispatch.

Hoff.—What, ruthless hind,

Shall I wrong nature, that did ne’er compose

One of her sex so perfect ?—Prithee, stay.

Suppose we kill her thus : about her neck

Circles of purple blood will change the hue

word ‘revenge’, which it is impossible to supply : the rest may be thus in part restored—

‘Hence, clouds of melancholy !

‘I’ll be no longer subject to your films.

But thou, dear soul, whose nerves and arteries,

In dread resoundings summon up revenge—

And thou shalt ha’ it. Be but appeas’d, sweet hearse,

The dead remembrance of my living father,

And with a heart as air, as swift as thought,

I’ll justly execute in such a cause.’

We may also conclude that the manuscript used by the printer was very illegible, for in several places he has, with unwonted scrupulousness, left blanks for words he was not able to decipher.

Of this white porphyry, and the red lines,
Mix'd with a deadly black, will tell the world
She died by violence : then 'twill be enquir'd,
And we held ever hateful for the act.

Lor.—Then place beneath her nostrils this small box,
Containing such a powder that hath power,
Being set on fire, to suffocate each sense
Without the sight of wound, or shew of wrong.

Hoff.—That's excellent ! Fetch fire—or do not—stay.
The candle shall suffice, yet that burns dim,
And drops his waxen tears, as if it mourn'd
To be an agent in a deed so dark.'

The following extract, where Lodowick, disguised as a Greek, conducts Lucibel to the dwelling of Roderick the hermit, shows that the author was not devoid of sensibility to natural beauty—

'*Lodowick.*—Are you not faint, divinest Lucibel?

Lucibel.—No : the clear moon strews silver in our path,
And with her moist eyes weeps a gentle dew
Upon the spotted pavement of the earth,
Which softens every flower whereon I tread.
Besides, all travel in your company
Seems but a walk made in some goodly bower
Where Love's fair mother clips¹ her paramour.

Lod.—This is the chapel, and behold a bank
Cover'd with sleeping flowers, that miss the sun.
Shall we repose us till Mathias come ?

Luci.—The hermit will soon bring him : let's sit down.
Nature or art hath taught these boughs to spread
In manner of an arbour o'er the bank.

¹ We have here ventured to substitute *clips*, or embraces, for *strips*, which, we take it, was the misreading or mishearing of the printer. In the last line but one of this extract we have put *As* instead of *And*, which no doubt is what Chettle wrote.

Lod.—No ; they bow down as veils to shadow you ;
And the fresh flowers, beguiled by the light
Of your celestial eyes, open their leaves
As when they entertain the lord of day :
You bring them comfort, like the sun in May.'

We are inclined, for various reasons, to assign to Chettle part of the authorship of *The Pleasant Comedy of Patient Grissell*, in which, however, there is no doubt, from Henslowe's MS., that Dekker and Haughton had a main share. We apprehend that in this case, as in many others, joint authorship has been attributed to different poets, who were not concerned in the production of a play at the same time. Thus, in the present instance, the first drama upon the well known story of Griselda may have been written by Chettle ; while Dekker and Haughton, at a subsequent period, may have made additions to it, for the sake of giving it variety and novelty, and rendering it more popular when it was revived. It was printed anonymously in 1603, and on the title-page of one copy, sold not long since, was written, in a contemporary hand, 'By H. Chetill', as if he alone were the writer of it, which is not at all probable.

Chettle and his coadjutors (if the term can be properly applied to them) managed their materials with no inconsiderable skill. The chief plot, of course, relates to the Marquis of Saluzzo and Griselda ; but two underplots are interwoven with so much ingenuity, that while they serve to diversify the entertainment, they aid materially the effect of the main story. There is one material difference between the characters of the Marquis, as here drawn, and as drawn by Petrarch, Boccacio, and Chaucer, viz., that in the play he is not induced to put Griselda to the test merely from a wanton curiosity on his part to learn the extent of her endurance and fidelity, but urged also by the complaints and remonstrances of his no-

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bility against his humble choice, and against the basely descended progeny to whom, after the death of the Marquis, they would be subjected. This mixed motive at least gives a greater degree of plausibility to his conduct. The most prominent of the underplots is that of a Welsh knight and a Welsh Widow, whom he marries, and who is the counterpart of Griselda, being most perverse, arbitrary, and contradictory.

The principal characters are distinctly drawn and well contrasted, and the names of such as belong to the main story are nearly similar to those in Boccacio. Laureo, a poor scholar, brother to Griselda, is not wanted; but Babulo, the clown, is an amusing personage, though he in no way contributes to the advancement of the catastrophe.

A few short extracts may suffice. The play opens thus spiritedly, the Marquis and his followers entering as hunters, to the lively sound of horns—

Marquis.—Look you so strange, my hearts, to see our limbs
Thus suited in a hunter's livery?
Ah, 'tis a lovely habit, when green youth,
Like to the flow'ry blossom of the spring,
Conforms his outward habit to his mind.
Look how yon one-eyed waggoner of heaven
Hath by his horse's fiery winged hoofs
Burst ope the melancholy veil of night,
And with his gilt beam's cunning alchemy
Turn'd all those clouds to gold; who, with the winds,
Upon their misty shoulders bring in day.
Then, sully not this morning with foul looks,
But teach your jocund spirits to ply the chase,
For hunting is a sport for emperors.'

When the Marquis sees Griselda, he exclaims very prettily—

'See where my Grissell and her father is.
Methinks her beauty, shining through those weeds,

Seems like a bright star in the sullen night.
 How lovely poverty dwells on her back !
 Did but the proud world note her as I do,
 She would cast off rich robes, forswear rich state,
 To clothe her in such poor habiliments.'

The following occurs near the conclusion, after Grisell has been deprived of her children and reduced again to beggary. The Marquis brings home a very young bride and a youth from Padua, and requires Grisell, in her poor attire, to be present at his second marriage—

Marquis.—How do you like my bride ?

Grisel.—I think her blest

To have the love of such a noble lord.

Marq.—You flatter me.

Gris.—Indeed, I speak the truth :

Only, I prostrately beseech your grace,
 That you consider of her tender years,
 Which, as a flower in spring, may soon be nipp'd
 With the least frost of cold adversity.

Marq.—Why are not you then nipp'd ? you still seem fresh,
 As if adversity's cold icy hand
 Had never laid his fingers on your heart.

Gris.—It never touch'd my heart : adversity
 Dwells still with them that dwell with misery ;
 But mild content hath eas'd me of that yoke ;
 Patience hath borne the bruise, and I the stroke. . . .

Marq.— . . . Nay then, I'll vex you more.—
 Grissell, I will receive this second wife
 From none but from thy hands : come, give her me.

Gris.—I here present you with an endless bliss—
 Rich honour, beauteous virtue, virtuous youth.
 Long live my lord with her contentedly ! . . .

Marq.— . . . Grissell, receive
 Large interest for thy love and sufferance.

Thou gav'st me this fair maid, I in exchange
Return thee her, and this young gentleman—
Thy son and daughter kiss with patience,
And breathe thy virtuous spirit in their souls. . . .
Why stands my wronged Grissell thus amaz'd ?

Gris.—Joy, fear, love, hate, hope, doubts encompass me.—
Are these my children I supposed slain ? . . .

Marq.—They are, and I am thine. Lords, look not strange :
These two are they at whose births envy's tongue
Darted envenom'd stings : these are the fruit
Of this most virtuous tree. That multitude,
That many-headed beast, nipp'd their sweet hearts
With wrongs, with bitter wrongs ; all you have wrong'd her :
Myself have done most wrong, for I did try
'To break the temper of true constancy.
But these whom all thought murder'd are alive !
My Grissell lives, and in the book of fame
All worlds in gold shall register her name.'

The second, or under plot, is highly humorous, and the combination of the two managed with much ingenuity : we are disposed to assign it to Dekker as a very skilful playwright.

The play of *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* has reached us under nearly similar circumstances : according to Henslowe, Henry Chettle and John Day were concerned in it ; but it was printed in 1659 in the name of the latter only, and presents little deserving separate observation.

There is another extant play, in which Chettle certainly had a considerable share, his coadjutor being Anthony Munday : it is *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington*, printed in 1601, and sometimes called, by Henslowe, 'the second part of *Robin Hood*.' Here again we are met by the difficulty of determining the share which each author had in the production, although two hands are clearly to be traced in it. After

reading *Hoffman*, little hesitation can be felt in assigning the description of the horrors of the death of Lady Bruce and her infant son, who are starved to death in a dungeon, to Chettle. This play was called *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington*, or the second part of *Robin Hood*, probably, in consequence of the success of the *Downfall*, or first part : the hero expires at the close of what may be considered act i, and the rest of the piece is made up of the fate of Lady Bruce and her child, and of the love of King John for Matilda.

Chettle and Munday having been connected as dramatic poets in the production last mentioned, it may be fit, in this place, to make some remarks upon the latter author. He was probably a writer for the stage considerably earlier than his coadjutor ; for, having been born in 1553, we find him an author in 1579.¹ He visited Rome prior to 1578,² having been connected with the stage as an actor, if not as an author, before he went abroad. His first extant dramatic work was a translation,³ probably from the Italian, and it was called *The Two Italian Gentlemen* : whether it was ever acted we have no means of knowing, but it was ill calculated for representation, and could never have been popular. It was printed shortly after 1584, in which year it was entered on the Stationers' Books, under the title of *Fidele and Fortunatus* :⁴

¹ In this year he published his *Mirror of Mutability*.

² In a tract he printed in 1582, he mentions having seen Captain Stukely at Rome. This adventurer, the hero of Peele's play already noticed, was killed at the battle of Alcazar, in 1578.

³ Yet it contains, as was not unusual in versions of the kind of that date, allusions to English popular superstitions : thus the following lines are put into the mouth of a comic personage :

'Ottomanus, Sophye, Turke, and the great Cham,
Robin-goodfellowe, Hobgoblin, the devil and his dam.'

⁴ The entry is in these words, under date of Nov. 12, 1584. '*Fidele and Fortunatus*. The Decepts in Love, discoursed in a Comedie of two

it is entirely in rhyme, as blank-verse had not then been generally adopted for dramatic purposes, and the lines are usually twelve-syllable alexandrines, such as the following :—

‘Then let him be led through every street in the town,
That every crack-rope may fling rotten eggs at the clown.’

One of the principal characters is called Captain Crackstone, a cowardly pretender to courage (common in the old Italian comedy), who obtained some reputation in this country, as he is mentioned by Thomas Nash in his *Have with you to Saffron Walden* :—‘Yet for all he is such a vain Basilisco, and *Captain Crackstone* in all his actions and conversation, and swarmeth in vile cannibal words, there is some good matter in his book against thee.’ The dialogue is very poor, and the following

Italian Gentlemen, and translated into English.’ No more than two copies of this piece are known to exist—one without the title-page, and the other wanting also the dedication ; but the running title to both is *The Two Italian Gentlemen*. The following is the Dedication, upon the initials subscribed to which depends the claim of Anthony Munday to be considered the translator : the letters belong to no other known author of that period.

‘To the worshipfull and very courteous Gentleman, Master John Heardson, Esquier, A.M. commendeth this pleasaunt and fine conceited Comœdie.

‘Woorshipful sir, my acquaintaunce with you is very little, which may impeach me of presumption in this mine attempt : but the good report of your affable nature to every one giveth me hope to be entertained amongst them. I commende to your freendly viewe this prettie conceit, as well for the invention, as the delicate conveyance thereof, not doubting but you will so esteeme thereof, as it dooth very well deserve, and I hartely desire. As for myselfe, your good construction will gather (I hope) the sum of my good will ; which is more towards you then I will heere speake of, and therefore is left to your wonted favour to judge of. Your worship to his power—
A. M.’

Had Munday been more than the translator, he would scarcely have spoken of the piece in the terms he has here employed.

song, though not good, is better than most other parts of the long-drawn performance.

‘A LOVE SONG.

‘If love be like the flower that in the night,
 When darkness drowns the glory of the skies,
 Smells sweet and glitters in the gazer’s sight ;
 But when the gladsome sun begins to rise,
 And he that views it would the same embrace,
 It withereth and loseth all his grace.

‘Why do I love, and like the cursed tree,
 Whose buds appear, but fruit will not be seen ?
 Why do I languish for the flower I see,
 Whose root is rot when all the leaves are green ?
 In such a case it is a point of skill
 To follow chance, and love against my will.’

Munday seems to stand in relation to *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington*, or ‘the first part of *Robin Hood*’, precisely in the same situation as Chettle, in relation to *Patient Grissell* : he probably had written the original play, although, at a subsequent date, Chettle altered it for representation at Court : his additions, however, could not be considerable, as it appears from Henslowe’s *Diary*, that Chettle only received 10s. for making them. We shall therefore speak of *The Downfall* as if it were the sole production of Munday. The earliest date at which it is mentioned by Henslowe in his *Diary* is Feb. 1597-8, but the first performance of the play may have been considerably earlier. The popular story is simply but picturesquely treated, and the author has used historical facts with little ceremony, when it suited his purpose to pervert them. What may be called the sylvan portions of the drama, are generally as fresh and green as the woods where the scene is laid, which is giving them great, but not undeserved praise ; and some of the serious portions, though not so good, are well

written, and the versification, which is interspersed with rhymes, by no means inharmonious. It is preceded by an 'induction', in which Skelton and others are supposed to rehearse the piece prior to its performance before Henry VIII. Skelton also explains the dumb shows, which afford some slight evidence of the early date of the play as it came from Munday's hands.

It commences with the outlawry and banishment of Robin Hood, by reason of the treachery of his steward: Queen Elinor is in love with Robin Hood, and Prince John with Matilda; and the latter, on the arrival of Robin and his merry men in Sherwood Forest, takes the name of Marian. On this occasion Robin Hood says picturesquely:—

'Wind once more, jolly huntsmen, all your horns,
Whose shrill sound, with the echoing woods' assist,
Shall ring a sad knell for the fearful deer,
Before our feather'd shafts, death's winged darts,
Bring sudden summons for their fatal ends. . . .
Give me thy hand: now God's curse on me light
If I forsake not grief in grief's despite.
Much, make a cry; and yeomen stand ye round.
I charge ye, never more let woeful sound
Be heard among ye; but whatever fall
Laugh grief to scorn, and so make sorrow small. . . .
Marian, thou seest, though courtly pleasures want,
Yet country sport in Sherwood is not scant.
For the soul-ravishing delicious sound
Of instrumental music, we have found
The winged quiristers, with divers notes,
Sent from their quaint recording pretty throats,
On every branch that compasseth our bower,
Without command contenting us each hour.
For arras hangings, and rich tapestry,
We have sweet nature's best embroidery.

For thy steel glass, wherein thou wont'st to look,
Thy crystal eyes gaze on the crystal brook.
At court, a flower or two did deck thy head,
Now, with whole garlands it is circled ;
For what in wealth we want, we have in flowers,
And what we lose in halls we find in bowers.'

All this is exceedingly gay, lively, and appropriate to the scene ; but the multiplication of rhymes shows that it was written before they had gone out of fashion. As this production, and its sequel, have been recently reprinted in a Continuation of *Dodsley's Old Plays*,¹ we shall not enter at all particularly into the plot, which (after a good deal of variety, and change of scene from the Court to the forest, and after several incidents adopted from the ballads regarding Robin Hood and his companions) terminates with the return of Richard I from the Holy Land, the restoration of Robin Hood to his title and estates, and the knitting-up of all differences by his forgiveness of his repentant enemies ; all of whom one by one had fallen into his hands, and were thus placed at his mercy.

Of fourteen plays (exclusive of *The Two Italian Gentlemen*) in which Munday was concerned there is but one other that is known to have been printed, viz., the first part of *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle* : in this piece he was aided by Michael Drayton, Robert Wilson, and Richard Hathwaye. It was published in 1600, with the name of Shakespeare on the title-page, a decided proof (says Malone) that Shakespeare 'was entirely careless about literary fame, and could patiently endure to be made answerable for compositions which were not his own, without taking any means to undeceive the public.' It is unlucky for this assertion, that

¹ Only one volume was printed by the present editor, in 1828, containing five of the best old plays in our language.

within the last few years, a copy of the first part of *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle* has been publicly sold *without the name of Shakespeare on the title-page*; as if, when he found that it had been falsely attributed to him, he had taken some 'means to undeceive the public',¹ and had compelled or induced the bookseller to reprint the first leaf of the play. The first part of *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle* is well known from Malone's *Supplement* of 1780.

Robert Wilson, mentioned above as a coadjutor with Drayton and others, probably was a dramatist before Shakespeare began to write for the stage.² His name frequently occurs in Henslowe's *Diary*; but, excepting his share in the first part of *The Life of Sir John Oldcastle*, whatever that share might be, we have but one remaining specimen of his talents, and that far below the reputation he seems to have acquired. He is mentioned by Meres in 1598, as one of 'the best for comedy', and is there coupled with Shakespeare, Chapman, Chettle, and others. The dramatic performance by him which is extant was printed in 1594, and bears Wilson's name alone on the title-page: it is called *The Cobbler's Prophesy*,³ and is a mass of absurdity without any leading purpose, but here and there exhibiting glimpses of something better. Robert Wilson was contemporary with Tarlton, and scarcely

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 330. A copy, without the name of Shakespeare on the title-page, is also in the dramatic library at Bridge-water House. It differs in no other respect.

² In the *Sydney State Papers*, by Collins, ii, 175, it appears that *Sir John Oldcastle* was performed to the great contentment of the Austrian Ambassador on 6th March 1599-1600. Lodge tells us, in his *Defence of Plays*, in answer to Gosson's *School of Abuse*, 1579, that Wilson had written a piece on the subject of the Conspiracy of Catiline. This must of course have been prior to 1579.

³ In 1595 was published, anonymously, *The Pedlar's Prophesy*, a production of much the same class, and possibly by the same author.

less celebrated ; and, as we have seen, formed one of the Queen's company when it was selected from the players of her nobility in 1583.

The scene of *The Cobbler's Prophesy* is laid in Bœotia, which is represented to be ruled by a Duke ; but in a state of confusion and disorganisation, in consequence of the prevalence of Lust, figured under the shape of Venus, and of Contempt, who assumes the name of Content, and thus imposes upon many. In this respect and some others it bears a resemblance to a Moral, for in the course of the piece, besides Contempt, Folly, Dalliance, Niceness, Newfangledness, etc., are personified. The prophecy relates to the birth of a child, begotten by Contempt upon Lust, called Ruina, and it is put into the mouth of a whimsical cobbler, named Ralph, the part sustained by Wilson : as an excuse for this absurdity the author says—

‘The Gods, when we refuse the common means,
Sent them [us ?] by Oracles and learned priests,
Raise up some man, contemptible and vile,
In whom they breathe the pureness of their spirits,
And make him bold to speak and prophesy.’

The heathen Gods and Goddesses, including Jupiter, Mars, Ceres, and the Muses, mix in the scene, and Mercury is a very principal agent : it is by his means that Ralph obtains the prophetic power, the chief object of which is to warn the Duke of the impending ruin of his state, unless he consent to introduce various reforms, and especially to unite the discordant classes of his subjects. The versification is varied—sometimes rhyme, in long and short lines—sometimes the principal characters use blank-verse—and sometimes rhyme and blank-verse are mixed, as in the following part of a dialogue between Contempt and Venus.

Contempt.—Away, thou strumpet ! scandal of the world,
Cause of my sorrow, author of my shame !
Follow me not, but wander where thou wilt
In uncouth places, loathed of the light,
Fit shroud to hide thy lustful body in,
Whose fair 's distain'd with foul adulterous sin.

Venus.—Ah, my Contempt ! prove not so much unkind
To fly and leave thy love alone behind.
I will go with thee into hollow caves,
To deserts, to the dens of furious beasts ;
I will descend with thee unto the grave.
Look on me, love ; let me some comfort have.'

The performance does not merit any more particular criticism, and its success was, doubtless, mainly owing to the exertions and popularity of the author.

DANIEL, LADY PEMBROKE, AND BRANDON.

THERE were but three English poets, shortly before the close of the reign of Elizabeth, who by the example of their writings opposed the progress of the romantic drama, and adhered to the forms, at least, of the classic stage of Greece and Rome. These were Samuel Daniel, the Countess of Pembroke, and Samuel Brandon. Daniel wrote only two plays, *Cleopatra* and *Philotas* : the last was certainly performed, and as certainly not the first ; and there is also no ground for supposing that Lady Pembroke's Tragedy of *Antony*, or Brandon's *Virtuous Octavia* were ever represented on any stage. As they belong

to a separate school of the drama, it will be necessary to notice them briefly ; but the more briefly, because two of the four pieces above named were not printed until Shakespeare had been for some years an applauded writer for the Lord Chamberlain's servants.

Daniel was unquestionably one of the most skilful and elegant versifiers of his day, and in general his pen was guided by good taste, and by just, if not strong, feeling. Although appointed to superintend the performances of the children of the Queen's Revels on the accession of James I, he was a decided opponent of the romantic drama, which had then long flourished on our stage. In the *Apology* subsequently appended to his *Philotas*, and not printed with the first edition in 1605, he speaks of the 'idle fictions' and 'gross follies', with which 'men's recreations were abused' at the theatres. In the address to the Countess of Pembroke, before his *Cleopatra*, 1594, he also complains of the 'barbarism' of the time, and alludes to the manner in which Sir Philip Sidney, in his *Apology of Poetry*, as we have shown, had resisted its progress. As early as 1592 he said that his verse 'respected nor Thames nor Theatres',¹ and his style is peculiarly undramatic, inasmuch

¹ This expression occurs in one of the sonnets in his '*Delia: Containing certaine Sonnets: with the Complaynt of Rosamond.* 1592, at London. Printed for J. C., for S. Watersonn': dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke. No attempt has been made to ascertain who was meant by Delia ; but in the *Complaint of Rosamond* he tells us, by way of apostrophe, that 'she adorned the West'; and in the sonnet above quoted he informs us, that she dwelt on 'Avon, poor in fame and poor in waters'. Daniel here, probably, refers to the Avon of Somersetshire and not of Warwickshire : he is said to have died at Beckington and to have written his *Philotas* in that neighbourhood. A copy of Daniel's *Delia*, of 1592 (a most rare and beautiful edition, which Ritson never saw), is in the library of the Duke of Devonshire: in the later impressions the poet made many alterations, and some of the sonnets he entirely changed, with more than the usual fastidiousness of authorship. He, besides, omitted two sonnets,

as it wants the vivacity and force that ought to belong to dialogue between living characters.

Daniel's numerous works went through many editions, containing material variations: the most correct, and probably

for what reason it would be vain to conjecture: they are certainly worth preserving, and therefore, without apology, we subjoin them. The first is without title: the initials, M. P., at the head of the last, no doubt, stand for *Mary* Countess of *Pembroke*.

'Oft and in vaine my rebell thoughts have ventred
To stop the passage of my vanquisht hart,
And shut those waies my friendly foe first entred,
Hoping thereby to free my better part.

And whilst I garde these windowes of this forte,
Where my hart's thiefe to vexe me made her choice,
And thether all my forces doe transport,
An other passage opens at her voice.

Her voice betrayes me to her hand and eye,
My freedome's tyrants, conquering all by arte;
But, ah! what glory can she get thereby,
With three such powers to plague one silly hart?

Yet, my soule's soveraigne, since I must resigne,
Raigne in my thoughts—my love and life are thine.'

'TO M. P.

'Like as the spotlesse Ermelin distrest,
Circumpass'd round with filth and lothsome mud,
Pines in her griefe, imprisoned in her nest,
And cannot issue forth to seeke her good;

So I, environ'd with a hatefull want,
Looke to the heavens, the heavens yielde forthe no grace,
I search the earth, the earth I find as skant,
I view my selfe, my selfe in wofull case.

Heaven nor earth will not, my selfe cannot worke
A way through want to free my soule from care;
But I must pine, and in my pining lurke,
Least my sad lookes bewray me how I fare.

My fortune mantled with a clowde's obscure,
Thus shades my life so long as wants endure.'

with the author's last emendations, was printed in 4to., in 1623, under the superintendence of the poet's brother John Daniel ; who, in 1618, assigned to Martin Slatier, and others, the patent he had obtained three years before for raising a juvenile company of actors.¹ In this volume, *Cleopatra* and *Philotas* are both included, and from it we shall quote, in preference to the older and less correct copies.

It is not our intention to enter into a discussion of the construction of pieces of this class, which, under the supposition that delusion exists, endeavour to adhere to the ancient unities of time, place, and action. Daniel's *Cleopatra* only relates to the last few hours of her life, and he well preserves the dignity of his heroine in her sorrow : her grief is never otherwise than queen-like, and her deportment overawes the insolence of her adversaries. Perhaps the most pathetic passage in the play is the following, and yet it is rather a philosophic observation than an appeal to the heart—*Cleopatra* is speaking—

' Oh Cæsar, see how easy 'tis t' accuse
Whom fortune hath made faulty by their fall :
The wretched conquered may not refuse
The titles of reproach he's charg'd withal.
The conquering cause hath right, wherein thou art ;
The vanquish'd still is judg'd the worser part.'

The death of *Cleopatra* is related by a Nuntius, with a tedious detail of unimportant and unaffecting circumstances : the following simile, applied to this event, has little but tolerable felicity of expression to recommend it :—

' Look how a mother, at a son's departing
For some far voyage, bent to get him fame,
Doth entertain him with an idle parting,
And still doth speak, and still speaks but the same ;

¹ Samuel Daniel, the voluminous poet, died in 1619.

Now bids farewell, and now recalls him back,
Tells what was told, and bids again farewell,
And yet again recalls, for still doth lack
Something that love would fain, and cannot tell ;
Pleas'd he should go, yet cannot let him go :
So she, although she knew there was no way
But this, yet this she could not handle so,
But she must show that life desir'd delay.'

Any comparison with Shakespeare is out of the question : the two poets wrote with very different purposes, and Daniel had not, and could not have had, any eye to the stage.

Philotas was a later production, not printed until 1605, and not written (or at least not completed) until after the execution of the Earl of Essex, to whose fate, Daniel tells us in his *Apology*, it had when acted been unfairly applied. He states also that he had been 'driven by necessity to make use of his pen, and the stage to be the mouth of his lines, which before were never heard to speak but in silence', and that his intention had been entirely misunderstood.¹

We may at once conclude, that *Philotas* was unsuccessful ;

¹ He seems to allude to the same point, in the *Epistle to Prince Henry*, which was published with the first edition of *Philotas*, and continued subsequently : after speaking of himself as an old man, 'the remnant of another time', he pathetically observes :—

'And therefore, since I have outliv'd the date
Of former grace, acceptance, and delight,
I would my lines, late borne beyond the fate
Of her spent line, had never come to light :
So had I not been tax'd for wishing well,
Nor now mistaken by the censuring stage ;
Nor in my fame and reputation fell,
Which I esteem more than what all the age
Or the earth can give ; but years have done this wrong,
To make me write too much, and live too long.'

and, compared with the popular dramas of that period, we cannot be surprised at its fate. It was, probably, performed by the children of the Queen's Revels, at the Blackfriars Theatre, where Shakespeare's plays were so often represented by the King's or Lord Chamberlain's servants; we are, however, without positive information on the point.

Although Daniel wrote *An Apology for Rhyme*,¹ and although his earliest play was composed with strict observance of the jingle, in *Philotas* he has in a degree changed his system, and has at intervals interspersed passages of blank-verse. He usually confines his blank-verse to the inferior personages, but in one or two instances he makes Alexander employ it. The following is a specimen from act iii, after Dymnus (the author of the plot that had been communicated to *Philotas*) has stabbed himself, and has died in the presence of the king. Alexander observes—

'Sorry I am for that, for now hath death
Shut us clean out from knowing him within,
And lock'd up in his breast all th' others' hearts :
But yet this deed argues the truth in gross,
Though we be barr'd it in particular.—
Philotas, are you come? Look here : this man,
This Ceballinus should have suffered death,
Could it have been prov'd he had conceal'd
Th' intended treason from us these two days ;
Wherewith, he says, he straight acquainted thee.
Think, the more near thou art about ourself,
The greater is the shame of thine offence,
And which had been less foul in him than thee.'

Daniel's blank-verse is never better than this specimen,

¹ It was reprinted in 1815 by Haslewood, from the 8vo. edition of 1603, which he seems to have considered the earliest; but it was first published in 1602, folio.

which, we think, shows that he was by no means master of that branch of his art.

The Countess of Pembroke's tragedy of *Antony* only professes to be a translation. It was from Garnier; and although the play was not printed until 1595, it was written in 1590,¹ and it is mentioned by Daniel as having preceded his *Cleopatra*. The most remarkable feature of Lady Pembroke's work is that all the principal speeches are in blank-verse, so that it is an early attempt in that kind. The opening of the performance may be taken as a fair specimen of her qualifications: the lines are spoken by the hero—

‘ Since cruel heaven’s against me obstinate,
Since all mishaps of the round engine do
Conspire my harm ; since men, since powers divine,
Air, earth, and sea are all injurious ;
And that my queen herself, in whom I liv’d,
The idol of my heart, doth me pursue,
It’s meet I die. For her have I foregone
My country, Cæsar unto war provok’d,
(For just revenge of sister’s wrong, my wife,
Who mov’d my queen, aye me ! to jealousy,)
For love of her, in her allurements caught,
Abandon’d life, I honour have despis’d,
Disdain’d my friends, and of the stately Rome
Despoil’d the empire of her best attire ;
Contemn’d that power that made me so much fear’d,
A slave become unto her feeble face.
O, cruel traitress, woman most unkind !
Thou dost, forsworn, my love and life betray,
And giv’st me up to rageful enemy,
Which soon (oh fool !) will plague thy perjury.’

¹ At the end is the following date: ‘At Rainsbury, 26th November 1590.’ It is said to have been printed in 4to. in 1595; but we have never met with any but a 12mo. edition of that year.

It must be owned that this is rather rugged, constrained, and inverted, but some portion of its defects may be attributed to the extremely close adherence of the noble translator to her text. The choruses, in various lyrical measures, are usually well rendered.

Samuel Brandon's *Virtuous Octavia*, 1598, owes its fable to the varied fortunes of Mark Antony. It takes them up at an early period, and the scene is laid entirely in Rome; but the unities of time and action are nevertheless lost sight of, because in the opening scenes Octavius Cæsar is represented in his capital, and before the conclusion of the play he has been victorious at Actium. Brandon is not known to have been the author of any other production, yet his versification is generally harmonious and polished, although, like that of Daniel, it wants force and energy. In one respect he is decidedly superior to that poet: Daniel was an enemy to innovations in language, but Brandon, with very considerable success, introduced into English some of the Greek compound epithets. George Chapman's *Seven Books of the Iliad* and his translation of the description of *Achilles' Shield*, both printed in 1598, might have set him the example in this respect. We say only that it might have set him the example, because, perhaps, the credit of first introducing them may be due to Brandon, whose drama was printed in the same year. In Chapman's translation,¹ we find 'bright-footed Thetis', 'man-making gold', 'fortune-glossed pompists', and some more;

¹ We have unwillingly refrained from giving some account of the dramatic works and poetical character of Chapman, mainly because he did not write for the stage until after Shakespeare had established his reputation. Chapman did not attempt dramatic poetry until rather late in life, for the earliest notice of any piece by him is 1598; and, in 1605, he tells Sir Thomas Walsingham (in a sonnet prefixed to only a few copies of his *All Fools*, which, it has been shown, was written in 1599) that he was 'mark'd by age for aims of greater weight'. Having been born about

and in Brandon's *Virtuous Octavia* we meet with 'pearl-dropping showers', 'sceptre-bearing hands', 'sun-bright beams',

1557, he was some years senior to our great dramatist, and his family seems to have been respectably settled at Hitchin, Hertfordshire. One member of it, Thomas Chapman, in 1619 petitioned Prince Charles for the Bailiwick of Hitchin, which the petitioner had formerly possessed under the Exchequer Seal, but of which the Earl of Salisbury had deprived him; and, on the 30th of November of that year, the claim was referred to the Commissioners of the revenue of the Prince of Wales (*Vide Harl. MSS. No. 781*). George Chapman was a man of a fine, high-toned, vigorous mind, full of imagination, but wanting the lighter ornaments of fancy. Some of these graces he seems to have endeavoured to obtain from foreign sources; and of this there is remarkable proof in a beautiful passage of the comedy above mentioned—*All Fools*. Valerio says:

'I tell thee, love is Nature's second sun,
Causing a spring of virtues where he shines:
And as, without the sun, the world's great eye,
All colours, beauties both of art and nature,
Are given in vain to men; so without love
All beauties bred in women are in vain,
All virtues bred in men lie buried;
For love informs them as the sun doth colours.'

The whole thought and some of the expressions are here borrowed from a madrigal by Andrea Navagero, which is inserted in Domenichi's Collection of *Rime Diverse*, Venice, 1546, beginning—

'*Leggiadre donne, che quella bellezza,
Che natura vi diede,*' etc.,

which may be thus rendered in English—

'Sweet ladies, to whose lovely faces,
Nature gives charms, indeed,
If those you would exceed,
And are desirous, too, of inward graces;
'Ye must first ope the heart's enclosure,
And give love entrance there:
If not, ye must despair
Of what ye hope, and bear it with composure.

'earth-ruling powers', 'terror-breeding crown', and others equally forcible and felicitous. He is sometimes guilty of wordy amplifications to express a simple fact, as in the following four lines, meant to state merely that it was evening—

'It was the time when the declining sun
Made greatest show of least performed light,
And by his swift departure had begun
To yield his interest to th' encroaching night.'

Brandon's characters are feebly drawn, and the heroine is a poor vacillating woman, distracted between her love for Antony, and her desire of revenge for his infidelity with Cleopatra. Some of the best lines are those which open the tragedy, where, in her grief, Octavia converts even the beauties of nature to sources of unhappiness—

'Camilla, now methinks this golden time
Invites our minds to bathe in streams of joy :
See how the earth doth flourish in his prime,
Whose livery shows the absence of annoy.
These woods, how they, bedeck'd with nature's pride,
Show inward touch of new conceived mirth.

'For as the night than day is duller,
And what is hid by night
Glitters with morning light
In all the rich variety of colour ;

'So they whose dark insensate bosoms
Love lights not, ne'er can know
The virtues thence that grow,
Wanting love's beams to open virtue's blossoms.'

Chapman is, however, generally very original, and his two dramas, *The Conspiracy* and *The Tragedy of the Duke of Byron*, are noble poems, full of fine thoughts, and rich in diversity and strength of expression. As pieces intended for the stage, they, perhaps, want action and variety.

The pretty birds that in their coverts hide
 (Free citizens, even happy from their birth)
 How they rejoice ! and every senseless thing
 Even smiles with joy. The earth perfumes the air,
 The air sweet nectar to the earth doth bring,
 And both with joy beget these children fair.
 How richly nature doth her wealth enrobe,
 Giving each thing his beauty, form and grace. . . .
 Yet this same earth, with new-born beauties grac'd,
 Doth say, methinks, in his dumb eloquence,
 Thus shall you spring, 'mongst heavenly angels plac'd,
 When death's cold winter once hath snatch'd you hence.
 These flowers do bid us with their language read
 In beauty's books how beauty is most frail,
 Whose youthful pride th' untimely steps doth tread
 To death's black kingdom, dark oblivion's vale.
 These, nature's quiristers, do plainly say,
 Waste thus your time in setting forth his praise,
 Who feeds, who clothes, who fills our hearts with joy,
 And from this dead earth doth our bodies raise.
 Thus all their mirth are accents of our moan ;
 Their blissful state of our unhappiness :
 A perfect map, where only we alone
 May see our good, but never it possess.'

There is an obvious impropriety in putting some of these sentiments into the mouth of a Pagan.

The lyrical measures of the choruses run like the lines of a practised poet : the author thus apostrophises the female sex at the close of act i—

‘ Dwell in fame's living breath,
 T' eternity resign'd,
 Ye fair Mars-conquering wights,
 And fear not Lethe's flood.
 Your virtues always bud !

Your story honour writes,
And Phœnix-like, you find
A new life in your death.
Arm but your angel souls
With perfect virtue's shield,
That Thanatos controls
And makes Erynnis yield,
Then shall the heavens your worth descry,
Earth sing your praise, and so will I.'

The plot is most uninterestingly and languidly conducted, and the speeches, as is usual in plays constructed upon the same model, infinitely too long, and totally unimpassioned. The catastrophe is merely the defeat of Anthony, and the author seems to call his work a 'tragicomedy', because the heroine survives her misfortunes.

AN ACCOUNT
OF
THE OLD THEATRES
OF
LONDON.

THE OLD THEATRES OF LONDON.

THE THEATRE.

MALONE declared himself 'unable to ascertain the situation of *The Theatre*',¹ as it is called by way of distinction in many old productions. Chalmers tells us that 'it was probably situated in the Blackfriars, out of the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction',² and throughout he treats *The Theatre*, as if it were only another name for the Blackfriars play-house. This is a singular and rather important error.

The Theatre was situated in Shoreditch; and had either Malone or Chalmers consulted the first impression of Stow's *Survey of London*, 1599, instead of subsequent editions, they could not have failed to make the discovery. Stow speaks of the suburbs of London without the walls, and particularly of the Priory of St. John Baptist at Holywell, surrendered to Henry VIII in 1539, and then adds the following: 'The church therof being pulled downe, many houses have bene there builded for the lodgings of noblemen, of straungers borne, and other. And neare thereunto are builded *two publique houses, for the acting and shewe of Comedies, Tragedies, and Histories*, for recreation. Whereof the one is called *The Courtein*, the other *The Theatre*, both standing on the south-west side towards the field'. The passage varies slightly from Stow's original MSS. of his collections for this work, which are preserved in the British Museum;³ and as

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 53. ² *Apol.* 402. ³ *Harl. MSS.*, No. 538.

the point is new, it may be worth while to quote from his own hand-writing:—‘This Church (he says, referring to the Priory of St. John Baptist) being pulled downe, many howses hath bene there builded for the lodgyng of noblemen, of straungers borne, and others; and namely neare adjoyning are builded *two houses for the shewe of activities, comedies, tragedies, and histories*, for recreation; the one of them is named the Curteyn in holy well, the other the Theatre: these are on the back syde of holy well, towards the filde.’ In the margin opposite are the words, ‘Theatar and Curtain at holy well’.

The principal variation is the omission of the word ‘activities’ in the printed copy; as if, in the interval between the writing and the publishing of his *Survey*, Stow had learnt that feats of activity, such as tumbling, vaulting, and rope-dancing, were not exhibited at the Theatre nor at the Curtain: we may, perhaps, therefore conclude, that prior to 1599, the companies acting at those two places confined themselves to *tragedies, comedies, and histories*, and excluded activities. It will be observed, that both buildings were beyond the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor.

Malone justly remarks, that ‘the Theatre, from its name, was probably the first building erected in or near the metropolis purposely for scenic exhibitions’;¹ but he supplies no information as to the period to which its existence could be traced. As Chalmers uniformly confounded it with the Blackfriars, of course, no intelligence on the point could be expected from him. We are able to show that it was in existence in 1576, because it is mentioned by name in Lambarde’s *Perambulation of Kent*, first published in that year: ‘Those (says Lambarde) who go to Paris Garden, the Bell Savage, or *Theatre*, to behold bear-baiting, interludes, or fence-play, must not account of any pleasant spectacle, unless first they

¹ Malone’s *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 53.

pay one penny at the gate, another at the entry of the scaffold, and a third for quiet standing."¹

The Bell Savage is known to have been an inn-yard, only temporarily applied to the performance of plays; and the mention, in the above quotation, of 'the Theatre' only, would tend to show that 'the Curtain', which was near it, was not then constructed, or it would also perhaps have been inserted. Thus we see that there was a regular place devoted to the performance of plays, at least as early as 1576.

The next notice we find of 'the Theatre' is contained in John Northbrooke's *Treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Vain Plays, or Interludes*, which was licensed to be printed in 1577, and was therefore at that date ready for the press, although not published until perhaps two years afterwards. It is a dialogue between Youth and Age, the former asking the latter, among other things, his opinion of 'stage-players and enterludes, which are now practised amongst us *so universally in towne and country*'; an expression which shows the extent to which dramatic representations were then carried. Age, in reply, inveighs warmly against '*Histriones*, or rather *Histrices*, which play upon Scaffoldes and Stages, enterludes, and comedies'; Youth calls upon him to descend to particulars:—'Do you speake (he asks) against those places also which are made up and builded for such playes and enterludes, as the Theatre and Curtain is, and other such like places besides?' Age answers in the affirmative; and hence we may infer, that there were more regular play-houses at that time, 1577, than the Theatre and the Curtain.

Malone has himself cited the next authority in point of date regarding this playhouse—John Stockwood's Sermon at Paul's Cross, on 24th August 1578—and it is singular that the very terms that zealous puritan uses should not have led

¹ See also Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, 227, edit. 4to., 1810.

Malone to discover that the Theatre was in the fields: Stockwood, speaking of players, says so in express terms:—‘Have we not houses of purpose, built with great charges, for the maintenance of them, and that without the liberties, as who shall say, There, let them say what they will, we will play. I know not how I might, with the godly-learned especially, more discommend the gorgeous playing place erected *in the fields*, than to term it, as they please to have it called, a *Theatre*.’ Elsewhere, in the same sermon, Stockwood asserts (and we are surprised that Malone missed the passage), that in his time (1578) there were no fewer than *eight* different places in London where ‘filthy plays’ were represented: and on another page Stockwood makes an attack upon the light literature of the day, from which dramatists drew their fables, viz., *Amadis de Garle*, *The great Palace of Pleasure*, and *The little Palace of Pleasure*, ‘with a number more of such filthie books, wherewith this churchyard (Saint Paules) swarmeth’.

Other writers against dramatic representations usually couple the Theatre and Curtain in the same sentence: thus John Field, in his *Godly Exhortation* on the accident at Paris Garden, in January 1582-3, mentions ‘the Theatre, the Curtain, and such like’; and Philip Stubbes, in his *Anatomy of Abuses*, 1583,¹ calls upon his readers to ‘mark the flocking and running to Theatres and Curtains daily and hourly, night and day, time and tide, to see plays and interludes’. Recorder Fleetwood, giving an account to Lord Burghley of some disturbances in and near London in 1584, relates that an apprentice had been assaulted ‘very near the Theatre or Curtain’,² which of itself shows their vicinity. It may be remarked

¹ Stubbes was also author of *A Motive to Good Works*, 8vo., 1593, written during the plague of that year, of which we have never seen any other copy than that formerly in our hands.

² See the *Annals of the Stage*, vol. i, p. 258.

also, as a slight additional proof that the Theatre was more ancient than the Curtain, that the former almost invariably has precedence in the sentence.

The last observation will apply also to an expression in Nash's *Martin's Month's Mind*, 1589, where he states that better mirth may be had for a penny 'at the Theatre and Curtain, and any blind playing-house every day'. Another part of this tract is important to our present inquiry on a different account, inasmuch as it shows that at the time it was written a company of players, under the celebrated John Laneham, then had possession of the Theatre: Nash tells us that he had learnt 'twattling tales' of Sir Jeffrey's *Ale Tub*, and of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* 'in alehouses, and at the Theatre, of Lanam and his fellows'. Laneham, as has been seen in the *Annals of the Stage*, had been chosen one of the Queen's players in 1583.

After the year 1598, we hear little of the Theatre; and the satirical author of *Skialetheia, the Shadow of Truth*, printed with that date, informs us that it was then abandoned—

' But see yonder
One, like the unfrequented Theatre,
Walks in dark silence and vast solitude.'

It was most likely merely a wooden erection, and in twenty years it might have become untenantable.

THE CURTAIN.

HAD the Curtain existed at as early a date as the Theatre, it would, perhaps (as before observed), have been mentioned with the latter by Lambarde, in 1576, instead of the Bell-Savage, which was only a temporary stage in an inn-yard.

The very circumstance of the adaptation of inn-yards to the purpose seems to have given the name of 'yard', in public theatres, to the space in front and on each side of the platform on which the actors exhibited.

The Curtain, as has been seen, was mentioned by Northbrooke in 1577, and he speaks of it as a place of common resort at that date: we may, therefore, take it that it was erected about 1575; and we are to recollect that it was in 1575 that the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London expelled the players from the limits of the city. The Blackfriars Theatre, as will be shown when we speak of that play-house, had its origin in this expulsion; and it is extremely probable that the Curtain was erected at the same time, and for the same cause, beyond the limits of the authority of the Lord Mayor, and in a populous neighbourhood.

The name of *the Theatre* having been appropriated by the play-house in the immediate vicinity of the spot on which the Curtain was founded, the latter seems to have taken its appellation from what must have been a principal feature in every regular place of dramatic exhibition—the separation of the audience from the actors by a cloth, which opened in the centre and drew from side to side by means of rings running upon a rod. Steevens was of opinion that a striped curtain was the sign hung out at this theatre, and if so we may suppose that it corresponded with the curtain drawn before the stage on the inside, but here we are entirely without evidence. It seems never to have been known by any other name than 'The Curtain', and by it it is mentioned by Stockwood in 1578, by Stubbes in 1583, and by various later authorities. We have no information what body of players was in possession of the Curtain soon after its construction, nor, indeed, until after James I came to the crown, when the players of Prince Henry acted there: as nothing is said of its having at

all recently come into their hands, we may conjecture that they had held it for some time. Until the accession of James I they had called themselves the Earl of Nottingham's servants, with whom Philip Henslowe was intimately connected: however, as he does not mention the Curtain theatre in his account-book in a single instance, although it commences in 1591-2, we are probably warranted in concluding that he had no share in the property of that house. It has been shown in the *Annals of the Stage*, (vol. i, p. 304,) that in May 1601, the company at 'the Curtain in Moorfields' had incurred the displeasure of the public authorities by personalities in their plays, and by representing, 'under obscure manner', 'gentlemen of good descent and quality.'¹

On the erection of the Fortune in Golden Lane in 1599, the Puritans made representations to the Privy Council against the increase of play-houses; and in order to satisfy them, in

¹ Thomas Heywood, a member of the company, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, admits the truth of the accusation against the stage generally; and he adds, particularly, that the attacks upon individuals have been made by the mouths of children, alluding probably to the Children of Paul's and of the Queen's Revels:—'Now to speak of some abuse lately crept into the quality, as an inveighing against the state, the court, the law, the city and their governments, with the particularizing of private men's humours, (yet alive,) noblemen and others: I know it distastes many, neither do I any way approve it, nor dare I by any means excuse it,' &c. We may take this opportunity of noticing what Heywood says, in the same tract, of the principal comic actors of his time, and before it. Knell, Bentley, Miles, Wilson, Crosse and Lanam he tells us that he never had seen, 'being before my time', but he speaks of Tarleton more particularly, although he was dead in 1588. With Gabriel Singer, Pope, Phillips and Sly he had been contemporary, although they had died prior to the time when he wrote. He especially mentions 'one yet alive, the most worthy famous Maister Edward Alleyn,' who either had retired, or was just retiring from the stage, in 1612. In the re-publication of this tract, 'printed by G. E. for W[illiam] C[artwright] without date, a paragraph is added respecting the foundation of Dulwich College.

June 1600, it was made a condition, if the Fortune were finished, that the Curtain should be 'ruined and plucked down, or put to some other good use'. Nevertheless this condition was never complied with—the Fortune was built, and the Curtain was still used for the performance of plays. The pieces represented there seem to have been of such a character as to become almost proverbial: thus G. Wither, in his *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, 1613, ridiculing a low class of versifiers, calls them—

‘Base fellows whom mere time
Hath made sufficient to bring forth a rhyme,
A Curtain Jig, a libel, or a ballad.’

A jig, however, strictly speaking, as will be shown hereafter, was a particular species of buffoonery, in which the actors of parts of low and coarse humour exhibited. Heath, in an Epigram, in 1610, quoted by Malone,¹ speaks of the Globe, the Fortune, and the Curtain as if they were much upon a level: he is supposing a stage-struck blockhead coming to London to qualify himself to act ‘the fool’s part in a play’—

‘No day can pass
But that some play-house still his presence has :
Now at the Globe, with a judicious eye
Into the Vice’s action doth he pry :
Next to the Fortune, where it is a chance
But he marks something worth his cognizance :
Then to the Curtain, where, as at the rest,
He notes that action down that likes him best.’

In 1615, Wentworth Smith’s play called *Hector of Germany*, was performed at the Curtain, by some ‘young men of the city’, as if the house were not then employed by any regular company of comedians. Malone, on the authority of Sir H.

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 54.

Herbert's office-book, states that in 1622 the Curtain was still open, and that it was occupied by the theatrical servants of Prince Charles, as it had previously been by those of Prince Henry.¹ In *Vox Graculi, or the Jack Daw's Prognostication* for 1623, the Curtain is specially mentioned as if it were still a theatre of some reputation, where new plays were then brought out:—'About this time new plays will be in more request than old, and if company come current to the Bull and Curtain, there will be more money gathered in one afternoon, than will be given to Kingsland Spittle in a whole month.' The Curtain seems to have fallen into disuse about the commencement of the reign of Charles I, and Malone states (without citing his authority) that it was soon employed only for the exhibitions of prize fighters.²

THE BLACKFRIARS THEATRE.

THE Blackfriars Theatre was built in the year 1576, by James Burbage or Burbadge, and his fellows, who on the 10th of May 1574 had obtained a licence from the Queen, under the title of 'servants of the Earl of Leicester'. In the *Annals of the Stage* (vol. i, p. 207) it has been shown that this undertaking within the Liberties of the Blackfriars arose out of the order of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London, expelling all players from the limits of their jurisdiction.³

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 59.

² *Ibid.*, iii, 54.

³ Prior to May 1580, and perhaps with a view to the ultimate expulsion of Players, the Lord Mayor had claimed a jurisdiction in 'the precinct of the late dissolved Monastery of the Blackfriars'. This claim was referred to the two Chief Justices; but on the 15th of May 1580, an order was made by the Privy Council, setting forth that the Chief Justices

With this fact Malone was unacquainted, and he observes merely that it was 'certainly built before 1580.'¹ From its earliest date, it was probably a joint speculation between the Earl of Leicester's players and the children of the Chapel, and the title-page of Lily's *Alexander and Campaspe*, printed in 1584, states that it was played by 'her Majesty's Children', and it is preceded by a 'Prologue *at the Blackfriars*'. The first notice of its existence in any printed tract yet discovered, is contained in Stephen Gosson's *Plays confuted in five Actions*, published without date, about 1581 or 1582, where he speaks of *Cupid and Psyche*, performed at St. Paul's, 'and a great many comedies more *at the Blackfriars*, and in every play-house in London.'

In 1596, the Blackfriars Theatre was repaired, and considerably enlarged, and a representation was made to the Privy Council, by some of the principal inhabitants of the Liberty, in order to prevent the completion of the undertaking. It produced a petition from the players of the Lord Chamberlain, viz., Hemings, Pope, R. Burbage, Kempe, Phillips, Shakespeare, and Tooley, to the Lords of the Council; and it is matter of inference that no obstruction was thrown in their way by the public authorities, as we afterwards find the performances continued there: Ben Jonson's *Case is Altered* was acted in 1599, 'by the Children of the Blackfriars' (so the children of the Chapel were called, on the title-page of the play, in 1609, from the house at which they ordinarily acted), and in 1600 they produced his *Cynthia's Revels*. The same

had not yet been able duly to examine into the merits of the case, and ordering, therefore, that matters should 'remain *in statu quo prius*, and that the Lord Mayor should not intermeddle in any cause within the said Liberties', saving for the punishment of felons, as heretofore he hath done.' See *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 155.

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 46.

author's *Poetaster* was played by them at Blackfriars, in 1601; but when James I came to the Crown, the company changed its name, in consequence of a royal patent, to that of 'the Children of her Majesty's Revels', and in that capacity they represented, among other plays, Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois*, prior to 1607, when it was first printed.

Malone was at some loss to account for this joint possession of the Blackfriars playhouse by the King's servants (as the players of the Lord Chamberlain were called on the accession of James), and by the Children of the Queen's Revels. He was not aware of the existence of the patent, granted to the latter at the opening of the reign of the successor of Elizabeth, authorising them to perform 'within the Blackfriars'; and all difficulty is easily removed by supposing, that while the King's servants were performing at the Globe,¹ on the Bankside, in the summer, the Blackfriars was occasionally occupied by the Children of the Queen's Revels. Accordingly we find T. M. (supposed to be the initials of Thomas Middleton), in a tract called *The Ant and the Nightingale*, 1604, speaking of both theatres as open at the same time: he says of an Inn-of-Court gallant, that 'his eating must be in some famous tavern, the Horn, the Mitre,² or the Mermaid, and then after dinner he

¹ It is to be observed, that in the Patent of May 1603, the Globe theatre only is mentioned, probably because the King's servants had then only a divided tenancy of the Blackfriars: but when James I granted the new licence of 27th March 1619, the King's servants were in the sole possession of the Globe and the Blackfriars theatres, and they are termed 'their now usual houses, called the Globe, within, our Countie of Surrey, and their private house, situate in the precinct of the Blackfriars, within our city of London.'

² The Mitre and Mermaid were celebrated taverns which the poets, wits, and gallants were accustomed to visit. Thorpe the Bookseller of Bedford Street, in 1830, was in possession of a MS. of songs and poems, in the handwriting of a person of the name of Richard Jackson, including

must venture beyond sea ; that is, in a choice pair of noble-men's oars to the *Bank-side*, where he must sit out the breaking up of a comedy, or the first act of a tragedy : or rather, if his humour serve him, call in at the *Blackfriars*, where he should see a *nest of boys* able to ravish a man.' Marston's *Malecontent*, 1604, was acted at the Blackfriars by the King's servants, and *Eastward Ho !* 1605, by the children of her Majesty's Revels. Shortly after 1609, when the latter performed Ben Jonson's *Epicæne*, they removed to the Whitefriars Theatre.

The King's servants continued in possession of the Blackfriars at the time of the catastrophe, which happened in an adjoining house, in 1623, when nearly one hundred persons were killed. It was in use as a theatre by the King's servants in June 1625, when Charles renewed his father's patent of 1619, and in the same terms as far as regards the two 'usuall houses', the Globe and the Blackfriars.

In the Induction to his *Magnetic Lady*, played at Blackfriars in 1632, Ben Jonson speaks of the 'very mean plays' that had of late been brought out there ; but there is good ground for thinking, that shortly prior to 1632, that playhouse had been more than usually frequented. In 1631, a petition had been

many unpublished pieces, by a variety of celebrated poets. One of the most curious is a song in five seven-line stanzas, thus headed :—

'Shakespeare's rime which he made at the Mytre in Fleete Streete.'

It begins 'From the rich Lavinian shore:' and some few of the lines were published by Playford, and set as a catch. Another, shorter piece, is called in the margin,

SHAKESPEARE'S RIME.

'Give me a cup of rich Canary wine,
Which was the Mitre's [*drinks*] and now is mine ;
Of which had Horace and Anacreon tasted,
Their lives as well as lines 'till now had lasted.'

The lines are probably genuine although they are also attributed to Ben Jonson. See Tytler's *Life of Raleigh*, p. 375, edit. 1844.

presented to Laud, then Bishop of London, containing serious complaints against the great injury and inconvenience arising from the number of coaches conveying visitors to and from the Blackfriars playhouse ; this remonstrance was renewed in 1633, but the petitioners obtained no redress. It appears from Ben Jonson's *Alchymist*, act i, scene 1 ; from his *Bartholomew Fair*, act v, scene 5 ; from Randolph's *Muses' Looking Glass*, act i, scene 1 ; and various other authorities, that the precinct in which the theatre stood was remarkable for the number of resident Puritans, and perhaps they exaggerated the nuisance in the hope of putting down the playhouse.

The Blackfriars appears to have remained open for the representation of plays until all the theatres were temporarily closed in 1642, and permanently in 1647. In his *Prælude to Mr. Richard Brome's Plays*, printed in 1653, Sir Aston Cockayne anticipates the time when

‘ Black, and Whitefriars too, shall flourish again’ ;

but, on the revival of the drama, we never hear of its employment ; and as it was then an old building, it was probably pulled down. Part of the ground near which it stood, adjoining Apothecaries' Hall, is still called Playhouse Yard.

PARIS GARDEN.

RICHARD III, as appears by the original patent cited in the *Annals of the Stage* (vol. i, p. 42), was the first of our Kings who appointed a royal Bearward, but nothing is said at so early a date of any public place, in the vicinity of London, for the exhibition of bear-baiting or bull-baiting.

The most ancient notice of Paris Garden, as the scene of

such amusements, that we have met with, is in a book of the expenses of the Northumberland family, where, under date of 17 Henry VIII, it is said that the Earl went to Paris Garden to behold the bear-baiting there. In 1544, the Duke of Naxera arrived in England, ambassador from Spain, and one of his suite wrote an account¹ of some passages in their travels, and especially during their stay of eight days in London : after speaking of the wild beasts in the Tower, he thus notices the sports at Paris Garden, although he certainly does not mention the place by name.

‘On the other side of the town we have seen seven bears, some of them very large : they are driven into a circus, where they are confined by a long rope, while large and courageous dogs are let loose upon them, as if to be devoured, and a fight takes place. It is not bad sport to witness the conflict. The large bears contend with three or four dogs, and sometimes one is victorious and sometimes the other : the bears are ferocious and of great strength, and not only defend themselves with their teeth, but hug the dogs so closely with their fore-legs, that, if they were not rescued by their masters, they would be suffocated. At the same place a pony is baited, with a monkey on its back, defending itself against the dogs by kicking them ; and the shrieks of the monkey, when he sees the dogs hanging from the ears and neck of the pony, render the scene very laughable.’

In Pennant’s *London*, the following stanzas are quoted, and are there said to have been written by ‘one Crowley, a poet of the reign of Henry VIII.’¹ He was a noted printer, and published, in 1550, ‘One and thirty Epigrams, wherein are briefly touched so many abuses that may, and ought to be put away.’

‘What folly is this to keep with danger
A great mastive dog, and fowle ouglike bear,

¹ It is a fair MS. in Spanish, now deposited in the British Museum.

² Edit. 1793, p. 43.

And to this end, to see them two fight
 With terrible tearings, a ful ouglie sight.
 And methinkes those men are most fools of al,
 Whose store of money is but very smal,
 And yet every Sunday they wil surely spend
 One peny or two, the Bearward's living to mend.
 At Paris Garden each Sunday a man shal not fail
 To find two or three hundred for the Bearward's vale :
 One halfpenny a piece they use for to give,
 When some have not more in their purses, I believe.
 Wel, at the last day their conscience will declare,
 That the poor ought to have al that they may spare :
 If you therefore give to see a bear fight,
 Be sure God his curse upon you wil light.'

In one of the oldest existing plans of London, known by the name of Aggas's map,¹ two circles are marked out for 'Bear-baiting', at a short distance from each other, as if the two amusements were exhibited at separate places appropriated to each, and both within the manor of Paris Garden.² We are without information regarding the first erection of either.³

¹ It is said to have been completed some time before 1578. The original plates, of pewter, came into the hands of Vertue, and he printed off a number of copies with a new inscription : they now belong to the Society of Antiquaries, London.

² Before 37 Henry VIII, when the monastery was dissolved, Paris Garden belonged to St. Saviour's, Bermondsey : By the Act 28 Henry VIII, c. 21, it was given to the King ; and by another statute, in the same year, ch. 38, the manors of Paris Garden, Hyde, and others, were granted to the Queen. Malone, in a note on *Henry VIII*, act v, sc. 3, says that it was called Paris Garden from Robert de Paris, who had a house and grounds there in the reign of Richard II. He quotes as his authorities, Blount's *Glossographia*, and *Rot. Claus.* 16 R. H., dors. ii.

³ Stowe speaks of two bear-gardens, the old and the new, as if one of them had been erected within his memory. We quote the following from

There is little doubt that they were both in being at the period of which the writer of the *MS. Chronicle*, beginning in the reign of Edward VI,¹ speaks when he says, that on Sunday, 9th December 1554, 'at after noon was a bere bayt-yng on the Bank-syde, and ther the grett blynd bere brake losse, and in ronnyng away he shakt a servyng man by the calff of the leg, and byt a gret pese away, and after by the hokyll bone, that withiñ three days after he died'. The same chronicler gives an account of several bear-baitings before Elizabeth at Whitehall; and, on one occasion (the 25th May, but the year is illegible), the French ambassadors were so delighted with the sport, that on the very next day they went to Paris Garden, with a guard of honour, to see it repeated: his words are these:—

'The 25 day [of May] they [Ambassadors] were browght to the court with musyke to dener, for ther was grett cher, and after dener to bere and bull bayting; and the queene's grace and the ambassadors

his original (*Harl. MSS.*, 544), because it is more full and particular than it appears in the printed copy of his *Survey*, 1599.

'And to begynne at the west banque as afore, thus it folowith. On this banque is the beare gardens, in nomber twayne; to wite, the olde beare garden and the newe, places where in be kepte bears, bulls, and other beastes, to be bayted at stakes for pleasure: also mastives to bayte them in severall kenells are there norished. Theis bears, bulls, and other beastes, are ofte tymes there bayted in plots of ground scaffolded about for the beholders to stand upon saffe.'

¹ *Cotton, MSS.*, *Vitellius*, F. 5. We are inclined to think, from his dialect as indicated by peculiar spelling, that the writer was a Scotchman. Paris Garden was a common place of resort in the reign of Mary, and among the *Prices of Fares and Passages to be payde to Watermen*, printed by John Cawood, 'Prynter to the Quene's Majestie,' is the following:

'Item, that no whyrymanne, with a pare of ores, take for his fare from Pawles wharfe, Quene. hithe, Parishe garden, or the Blacke Fryers to Westminster, or White hal, or lyke distaunce to and fro, above iijd.'

stud in the galere [at Whitehall] lokyng of the pastym till vj at nyght.
 . . . The 26 day of May they whent from the byssopes howse to
 Powlls warff, and toke barge, and so to Parys garden, for ther was
 boyth bare and bull baytyng, and the capteyn, with a xii of the gard,
 to kepe rowm for them to see the baytyng.'

According to John Field, 'Minister of the word of God', the amphitheatre would hold 'above a thousand people'; and he states¹ that that number was collected on Sunday, January 13, 1582-3, when one of the scaffolds fell, and five men and two women were killed, and more than one hundred and fifty persons injured. Stow, in his *Annals*, referring to the same calamity, says that eight lives were lost, and adds that the scaffolds were 'old and underpropped'. Field tells us that 'the gallery was double, and compassed the yard round about', and that it was 'old and rotten', so that the building in 1583 was no recent erection.

Paris Garden was certainly at an early date employed also as a theatre for dramatic representations, and it seems to have been of an hexagonal shape. To show that plays were performed there, Dekker's *Satiromastix*, 1602, may be quoted, where Tucca asks Horace (so Ben Jonson was designated in this play), 'Thou hast been at the Paris Garden, hast not?' To which Horace replies, 'Yes, Captain; I ha' played Zulziman there.' Zulziman was a character in some play which has not survived. Nash, in his *Strange Newes*, 1592, tells us that puppet-shows were also exhibited at Paris Garden, for, speaking of Gabriel Harvey, he says—

'Oh, it is a pestilent libeller against beggars! he means shortly to set forth a book called his *Puraphrase upon Paris Garden*; wherein he will so tamper with the Interpreter of the Puppets, and betouse

¹ In his *Godly Exhortation*, which he published on the occasion of this accident.

Harry of Tame and great Ned, that Titius shall not upbraid Caius with every thing and nothing, nor Zoilus any more flurt at Homer, nor Thersites fling at Agamemnon.'

By one of the curious documents formerly preserved at Dulwich College, we find that in 1601 Henslowe and Alleyn, who were in partnership, had possession of Paris Garden (as well as of the Fortune play-house), under a commission from Mr. Darryngton, who acted perhaps on behalf of his father, Sir John Darryngton, master of the Queen's Bears, for which they paid him 4*l.* per annum.

Although the performance of plays on Sunday was prohibited, and the prohibition enforced early in the reign of James I, the 'game of bulls and bears' was allowed, as appears, among other authorities, from the following passage in *The Black Book*, 1604. 'Well, still I waited for another fare, but then I bethought myself again that all the fares went by water—a' Sundays—to the bear-baiting, and a' Mondays to Westminster Hall.' When, however, Henslowe and Alleyn presented their undated petition¹ to James I, a change had

¹ It is preserved in Lysons' *Environs*, i, 92, but the original is missing at Dulwich College. The following is a copy of an advertisement issued by Henslowe and Alleyn, also once in that depository:—

'To-morrow, being Thursday, shall be seen, at the Bear Garden on the Bankside, a great match plaid by the gamesters of Essex, who hath challenged all comers whatsoever to plaie 5 dogges at a single beare for 5 pounds: and also to wearie a bull dead at the stake: and for their better content shall have pleasant sport with the horse and ape, and whipping of the blind bear.'

The 'pleasant sport with the horse and ape' was, doubtless, the same amusement which gave such delight to the attendant of the Duke of Naxera in 1544. It was probably 'whipping the blind bear', which cost the serving man his life a few years afterwards, as noticed in Cotton MSS., *Vitellius*, F. 5, before cited. Whipping the blind bear is thus described by Dekker:—'At length a blind bear was tied to a stake, and instead of baiting him with dogs, a company of creatures that had the

been made in this particular, for they expressly prayed to be permitted to exhibit bear-baiting, etc., on Sunday, and to have their fee raised to *2s. 8d.* per day, instead of *1s. 4d.* per day. To this fee they had then become entitled in consequence of having purchased the office of 'Master of the game of Bulls and Bears' from Sir William Steward, who had obtained the grant after the death of Sir J. Darryngton.

Paris Garden was not at first built for the performance of plays, although it was occasionally applied to the purpose; but on the burning of the Globe Theatre, in its immediate neighbourhood, on the 29th of June 1613, Henslowe contemplated the conversion of that circus into a regular playhouse, as well as into a place for the baiting of animals. An agreement between Henslowe and Jacob Meade (or Maide), waterman (who seems to have joined with him in the undertaking), on the one part, and Gilbert Katherens, carpenter, on the other part, dated 20th of August 1613, has been discovered, and makes the matter quite clear. It is expressly recited, that hitherto Paris Garden had been used 'as a game-place, or house where bulls and bears have been usually baited'; and it is stipulated that Katherens shall convert it into 'a game-place or *playhouse*', by pulling down the old building and erecting a new one, 'convenient in all things both for players to play in, and for the game of bears and bulls to be baited in the same'. The form, width, height, staircases, etc., were to be the same as the Swan Theatre on the Bankside: it was to have a 'tire-house', and the stage was to be made in a frame and placed upon tressels, so that it could be removed when the 'game of bears and bulls' was to be exhibited.

shapes of men and faces of Christians (being either colliers, carters, or watermen) took the office of beadles upon them, and whipped Monsieur Hunks till the blood ran down his old shoulders.'—*Work for Armourers, or the Peace is broken*, 1609. 4to.

The 'heavens', or covering over the stage, was not to have any supports upon the stage, and on the lowermost story there were to be two boxes 'fit and decent for gentlemen to sit in'.¹ The columns were to be turned; no fir was to be used in the lowest story, and the foundation was to be of brick, and to rise at least twelve inches from the ground. The bull-house and stable (tiled and lighted by a loover or sky-light) were to be capable of holding six bulls and three horses. It was farther provided that Katherens might have for his own use all the old bricks, timber, benches, etc., and also a quantity of old timber lying at the back of the bear-garden, and to receive 360*l.*, to be paid in various sums as the work proceeded: apparently to hasten the completion of it, as it was stipulated that the whole should be finished by the last day of November, which would allow little more than three months for the whole undertaking.²

There is no other reason for thinking that this project was not carried into execution, than the fact that no plays are extant which purport to have been at any time performed at Paris Garden; but to this it may be answered, that as the booksellers would not like to give pieces they published a bad reputation in the outset, it is not unlikely that they would rather mention the production of the play at any other theatre. We do not recollect, however, any authority in which it is said that dramatic performances took place there subsequent to the date of Dekker's *Satiromastix*, 1602. Richard Brome, in his excellent comedy, *The Antipodes* (acted at the

¹ The following passage from Swetnam's *Address* before his *Arraignement of Women*, 1617, mentions these boxes or rooms: it may be doubted whether there were any such at Paris Garden before it was re-constructed in 1613: 'If you meane to see the beare-baiting of women, then trudge to this bear-garden apace and get in betimes, and view every room where thou mayst best sit for thy own pleasure.'

² Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 343.

Salisbury Court Theatre in 1638), notices the exhibitions of dancing masters at the Bear-garden, where old Letoy, in act ii, sc. 1, is giving some excellent advice to three play-actors, he says—

‘No, nor you, sir, in
That over action of the legs, I told you of,
Your singles and your doubles—look you—thus—
Like one of the Dancing Masters o’ the Bear-garden.’¹

¹ In the same play, act iv, scene 1, there is a special notice of bear-baiting, and of the encouragement the amusement received from royalty. An old woman there reads out the following bill of an exhibition at Paris Garden:—

‘ROYAL PASTIME.

‘In a great match between the tanners and the butchers, six dogs of a side, to play single at the game bear for fifty pound, and a ten pound supper for their dogs and themselves. Also you shall see two ten dog courses at the great bear.’

A young maid, who was reading a book of pious meditations, thus interrupts her:—

‘Fie, granny, fie! can no persuasions,
Threat’nings, nor blows prevail, but you’ll persist
In these prophane and diabolical courses:
To follow bear-baitings when you can scarce
Spell out their bills with spectacles?

Old Woman.—What, though

My sight be gone beyond the reach of spectacles
In any print but this; and though I cannot
(No, no, I cannot) read your meditations;

[*Strikes down her book.*

Yet I can see the royal game played over and over,
And tell which dog does best, without my spectacles:
And though I could not, yet I love the noise;
The noise revives me; and the bear-garden scent
Refresheth much my smelling.

Maid.—Let me entreat you,

Forbear such beastly pastimes: they’re satanical.

Old Woman.—Take heed, child, what you say: ’tis the King’s game.’

When Henslowe ceased to have interest in Paris Garden, has not been ascertained; but, in 1620, Jacob Meade, his partner in the rebuilding of it, was brought before the Privy Council; and although his offence is not stated in the Register, it most probably had some connection with his ownership of this place of amusement. The following is the entry—

‘26th August 1620.—This day Jacob Meade, of the Parish of St. Saviour’s, in the County of Surrey, waterman, having been sent for by warrant, tendered his appearance, which for his indemnity is here entred: And upon his entring into bond of 100*l.* with two suerties to appear before the Lords at half a days warning, he was dismissed.’

In 1623, the baiting of bears, bulls, etc., at Paris Garden took place twice a week. The author of *Vox Graculi*,¹ in one of his mock-prognostications, says:—‘The dogs will all this year rage twice a week, and that very furiously; but their sorest outrage will be about the Bear-garden’. It is evident, from Brome’s play, already quoted, that it continued open for the exhibition of dancers, and for ‘the game of bears and bulls’, in 1638, and in the following year Sir S. Duncombe obtained a patent ‘for the sole practising and profit of the fighting and combating of wild and domestic beasts in England’, which was to continue in force for fourteen years. In 1642, a person of the name of Godfray (perhaps under a commission from Sir S. Duncombe) was one of the masters of the Bear Garden; and he gave offence to the Parliament by violently opposing the signature of a petition which tended to injure his interests: Mr. Whitacre presented a report to the House of Commons on the subject, and it was ordered that ‘the Masters of the Bear-garden, and all other persons who have interest there, be enjoined and required by this House, that for the future they do not permit to be used the game of

¹ Printed in 1623, p. 44.

bear-baiting in these times of great distraction, until this House do give further order herein'.

On the sale of Church lands, on 14th of January 1647, Paris Garden was disposed of for the sum of 1783*l.* 15*s.*¹ It has already been explained in what manner it came into the possession of the Crown.

WHITEFRIARS AND SALISBURY COURT THEATRES.

THERE is ground for believing that one of our oldest London theatres was situated in the liberty of the dissolved Monastery of the Whitefriars. Malone was of opinion that it existed prior to 1580, and, perhaps, it had the same origin, and the same date as the theatre in the precinct of the Blackfriars. In support of the latter conjecture, no evidence has been brought forward, and the testimony to show that there was a playhouse in Whitefriars before 1580, is vague and inconclusive: it is a passage quoted by Prynne,² from a tract by Richard Rawlidge, called *A Monster lately found out and discovered, or the Scourging of Tipplers*, which was not printed until 1628: it states that soon after 1580, 'many godly citizens and well-disposed gentlemen of London, considering that playhouses and dicing-houses were traps for young gentlemen and others'—'acquainted some pious magistrates therewith, desiring them to take some speedy course for the suppressing of common playhouses and dicing-houses within the City of London and

¹ Note by Reed, in *Dodsley's Old Plays*, new edit., ix, 148.

² *Histriomastix*, 1633, p. 492.

liberties thereof; who thereupon made humble suit to Queen Elizabeth and her Privy Council, and obtained leave from her Majesty to thrust the players out of the City and to pull down all playhouses and dicing-houses within their liberties: which accordingly was effected, and the playhouses in Gracious Street, Bishop's-gate Street, that nigh Paul's, that on Ludgate Hill, and *the Whitefriars* were quite put down and suppressed by the care of these religious Senators.'

Of this remarkable event, as a matter of history, we find no trace: on the contrary, we know that in 1583, so far was the Queen from favouring the views of the Puritans regarding the theatres, that she actually took into her own service a company of players, made up from the performers patronised by some of her nobility. We know also, whatever might be the fact with regard to the temporary stages in inn-yards, such as those above-mentioned, at the Cross Keys in Gracious Street, at the Bull in Bishopsgate Street, and at the Bell Savage on Ludgate Hill, that the Blackfriars Theatre (to which Rawlidge seems to point when he speaks of 'that nigh Paul's') never was 'put down' nor 'suppressed.' It is doubtful, also, whether the Whitefriars Theatre was 'put down and suppressed' at the same time, because it was equally out of the jurisdiction of the City authorities. As to the whole statement, we must recollect, that Rawlidge wrote nearly fifty years after the event to which he alone refers.

The principal circumstance that militates against the supposition that there was an ancient theatre in Whitefriars is, that we do not meet with any mention of it upon the title-pages of plays anterior to the year 1612, when Field's *Woman is a Weathercock* was printed, as it was 'acted before the king in Whitehall, and divers times *privately* at the Whitefriars, by the Children of her Majesty's Revels'. This play was written before 1610, because the second part of it, *Amends for Ladies*,

is alluded to by Anthony Stafford in 1611;¹ and it is not to be disputed that the Children of the Queen's Revels continued, in 1609,² to 'hold a divided Empire' with the King's servants at the Blackfriars. Of the cause of their removal to Whitefriars, we know nothing; but it seems likely that *Woman is a Weathercock* was either the first, or one of the first plays they acted after that removal.

The theatre being probably small, it might soon be found incapable of accommodating the audiences of the apparently popular company of the Queen's Revels: accordingly, in 1613 a project was on foot for constructing a new theatre in Whitefriars; and, on the 13th July, in that year, Sir George Buc (as we find by Sir Henry Herbert's MS. office-book, where the entry is extracted from a previous register of the same kind kept by Sir George Buc) received 20*l.* for 'a licence to erect a new playhouse in Whitefriars'.

Whether this intention was ever carried into effect, is a matter of doubt. After 1612, we hear nothing of the Whitefriars Theatre,³ and it is Malone's conjecture that, although

¹ In the 'Admonition to a discontented Romanist', at the end of his *Niobe dissolved into a Nilus*, 1611.

² Ben Jonson's *Epicæne* was acted in 1609, as the 4to. of 1616 states, by the Children of the Queen's Revels, who had before performed several of his other pieces at the Blackfriars.

³ Excepting by Sir Aston Cockayne in his *Prælude to Brome's Five New Plays*, 1653, when he seems to mention Whitefriars in opposition to Blackfriars, and for the sake of a conceit: he is speaking of the revival of the stage at some future period—

'Black, and Whitefriars too, shall flourish again,
Though there have been none since Queen Mary's reign.'

It is to be observed also that, although he speaks of the Fortune and Red Bull, he takes no separate notice of the Salisbury Court Theatre, as if he had already spoken of it as the Whitefriars, on the site of which it is supposed to have stood.

that large sum was paid to the Master of the Revels, no attempt was made to erect the new theatre until 1629, when a playhouse was built in Salisbury Court, on or near the site of the old edifice, and still within the liberty of the Whitefriars. We are inclined to agree with him, because Prynne, in 1633 (in the Epistle Dedicatory to his *Histrionmastix*), expressly asserts that a new theatre had been lately erected in the Whitefriars, meaning, as we apprehend, the playhouse built in Salisbury Court in 1629. Howes, the continuator of Stow, adverting to this event, calls it 'a new fair playhouse *near* the Whitefriars', and just afterwards, he says it was '*in* the Whitefriars'.¹

After the death of Anne, the Children of the Queen's Revels became 'the Children of his Majesty's Revels', and Shirley's *Changes* purports to have been performed by them. It was published in 1632, and we know from the title-page of Marmyon's *Holland's Leaguer* (also printed in 1632) that at that date Salisbury Court Theatre was in the occupation of the 'servants of Prince Charles', and they had therefore taken possession of it subsequent to the performance of Shirley's *Changes*. We may infer, from the terms of the prologue to Marmyon's *Holland's Leaguer*, that it was the first, or one of the first, plays performed at Salisbury Court by the servants of Prince Charles, and that they had succeeded 'inhabitants' who had

¹ That it was round, we may judge from the following lines in praise of Lewis Sharpe's *Noble Stranger*, 1640, acted at 'the private house in Salisbury Court'—

'Nor can she, had she robb'd the fluent store
Of Donne's wise genius, make thy merits more :
No, 'tis thy own smooth numbers must prefer
Thy *Stranger* to the Globe-like theatre.'

Perhaps the writer (Richard Woodfall) meant it also to be understood that, in this respect, the Salisbury Court playhouse was like the Globe on the Bankside.

'forsaken' that playhouse.¹ It also mentions the Globe and Phœnix by name, and refers to their rivalry and popularity—

'Gentle Spectators, that with graceful eye
Come to behold the Muse's colony
New planted in this soil, forsook of late
By the inhabitants, since made fortunate
By more propitious stars ; though on each hand
To overtop us two great laurels stand,
The one, when she shall please to spread her train
The vastness of the *Globe* cannot contain ;
Th' other so high, the *Phœnix* does aspire
To build in, and takes new life from the fire
Bright Poesie creates ; yet we partake
The influence they boast of, which does make
Our bays to flourish, and the leaves to spring,
That on our branches now new poets sing ;
And when with joy he shall see this resort,
Phœbus shall not disdain to stile 't his Court.'

What change had taken place in the situation of the Children of the King's Revels to warrant the words 'since made *fortunate* by more precious stars', cannot now perhaps be explained, unless it mean that they had gone to the Fortune. One of the 'new poets' was Marmyon,² the writer of

¹ It seems by Sir H. Herbert's office-book, as quoted in Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 178, that *Holland's Leaguer* was produced in December 1631, and that it met with what was considered at that time extraordinary success, having been acted for six days running. Sir H. Herbert was one of the proprietors of the Salisbury Court Theatre, or, at least, was allowed a ninth share of the receipts.

² The following quotation, from the Registers of the Privy Council, relates to the father and uncle of the poet. The father was a man of considerable landed property, which the son dissipated. The date of the subsequent extract is more than a year before the son was born :—

'28 August, 1601.—This daie Shakerley Marmyon and Henry Marmyon

the laughable comedy above quoted, which appears to have been his earliest production.

The players of Prince Charles altered their quarters to the Fortune theatre anterior to 1635, but at what precise date is questionable. Perhaps they found the Salisbury Court Theatre too small for the accommodation of their audiences : by what company they were immediately succeeded we have no means of ascertaining, possibly by the children of the King's Revels ; and, under date of 1638, we find Sir H. Herbert strengthening the performers at Salisbury Court by the addition of Perkins, Sumner, Sherlock and Turner to the number.

Salisbury Court Theatre, with the rest of the playhouses, was closed by the Puritans in 1642, and more effectually and permanently in 1647 ; but it was not pulled down, and in 1660 Tatham's *Rump* was acted there : it was then called the Theatre in Dorset Court.

of Eno [Aynhoe] in the Countie of Northampton, gent., beinge by warrant sent for, as partakers, with others, which hunted in a parke of Sir John Stanhope, Vicechamberlaine of her Majestie, entered their appearance, and were commanded in their Lordships' names to give their daily attendances, and not to departe till they had obtained lycence from their Lordshipes.

'The said gent. upon humble suite made after their appearances were dismissed from their attendances upon bonde taken of them to answer soche matters as should be objected against them on the behalf of the said Rt. Hon. Sir John Stanhope, Knight, in the highe court of the Starre Chamber the next terme, where they were to make their personal appearance on the 7th daie after the beginning of the said terme.'

THE GLOBE THEATRE.

WE are able to fix with tolerable exactness the date when the Globe, on the Bankside, was erected, by the discovery of a bond dated 22nd of December 1593, given by Richard Burbage, the actor, to Peter Streete, for the due performance, on the part of Burbage, of the covenants contained in an indenture of agreement for the erection of that very theatre. Peter Streete was the carpenter employed to do the work, which, we may suppose, was commenced soon after the date of the bond, and, perhaps, completed by the summer, during which season only, the Globe was used by the Lord Chamberlain's servants.

We are not aware of the existence of any authentic representation in detail of the old Globe Theatre as it existed before it was rebuilt after the fire in 1613. Malone seems to have confounded the two erections, and speaks of Wright's statement of its size (in *Historia Histrionica*) as if he were referring to the playhouse built by Burbage and his associates in 1594.¹ The rude wood-cut which he had engraved from the long Antwerp view of London, in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, seems to be a representation of the new, and not of the old Globe. Hentzner (who travelled in England in 1598) alludes to the old Globe when he describes it, without giving it a name, as one *horum theatrorum quæ omnia lignea sunt*.² It was unquestionably constructed of wood, and it seems to have been of an hexagonal shape, as was the case with the erection by which it was succeeded in 1613. It was probably circular within, and, like other public playhouses, it was open to the weather, excepting over the stage, which was covered with a thatched roof.

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 64. ² *Itin.*, p. 132, as quoted by Malone.

Peter Strcete, who built it, as we have concluded, in the spring of 1594, was the same person who was employed by Henslowe and Alleyn in 1599, to erect the Fortune in Golding Lane ; and from the agreement between them for that purpose, which refers to the 'late erected playhouse' called the Globe, we learn that both theatres were to have the same 'stairs, conveyances, and divisions, without and within'; that the two stages were to be constructed similarly, and the interiors to be fitted up alike, excepting that the Fortune was to be more ornamented, inasmuch as all the main supports were not to be round, as in the Globe ; but square and wrought like pilasters, with carved satyrs for capitals. The Globe had two doors, doubtless one leading into what is called the 'tire-house, and the other into the body of the theatre, where the audience was accommodated. That it had rails, to prevent spectators in *the yard* from intruding on the stage, is evident from the following lines in the poetical Introduction to *The Black Book*, printed in 1604.

' And now that I have ventur'd up on high,
Above the stage-rails of this earthen Globe,
I must turn actor.'

Malone was of opinion that the Globe was so denominated, not from the shape of its interior, but from its sign ; and he observes,¹ without citing his authority (referring merely to Stow's *Survey* regarding the signs of the ancient stew-houses), that that sign was Hercules supporting the globe, under which was written, *Totus mundus agit histrionem*.

The fire which consumed the old Globe, happened on St. Peter's day, the 29th June 1613, and the following account of the accident was written by Sir Henry Wotton to his nephew three days afterwards.

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 67.

‘Now, to let matters of state sleep, I will entertain you at the present with what hath happened this week at the Bank-side. The King’s players had a new play, called *All is True*, representing some principal pieces of the reign of Henry the Eighth, which was set forth with many extraordinary circumstances of pomp and majesty, even to the matting of the stage ; the knights of the order, with their Georges and Garter, the guards with their embroidered coats and the like : sufficient, in truth, within a while, to make greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now King Henry, making a mask at the Cardinal Wolsey’s house, and certain cannons being shot off at his entry, some of the paper, or other stuff wherewith one of them was stopped, did light on the thatch, where being thought at first but an idle smoke, and their eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming, within less than an hour, the whole house to the very grounds. This was the fatal period of that virtuous fabric, wherein yet nothing did perish but wood and straw, and a few forsaken cloaks : only one man had his breeches set on fire, that would perhaps have broiled him, if he had not, by the benefit of a provident wit, put it out with bottle ale¹.

July 2, 1613.’

John Chamberlain, in a letter preserved in Winwood’s *Memorials*,² dated the 8th July, gives a similar account of the origin of the fire : he says—

‘The burning of the Globe, or playhouse, on the Bankside, on St. Peter’s day, cannot escape you ; which fell out by a peal of chambers (that I know not on what occasion were to be used in the play), the tampin or stopple of one of them lighting in the thatch that covered the house, burnt it to the ground³ in less than two hours, with a

¹ Reliq. Wotton., Edit., 1672, p. 425.

² Vol. iii, 469.

³ Prynne, printing his *Histrionastix* in 1633, would fain make out that the burning of the Globe, and subsequently of the Fortune theatres, was providential, and intended as a judgment upon players and plays. ‘Nor yet (he says, p. 556) to recite the sudden fearful burning, even to the ground, both of the Globe and Fortune playhouses, no man perceiving

dwelling-house adjoining, and it was a great marvel and fair grace of God, that the people had so little harm, having but two narrow doors to get out.'

Malone has mentioned¹ that 'a doleful ballad of the general conflagration of the famous Theatre on the Bank-side, called the Globe', was entered on the Stationers' books in 1613, but adds that he had been unable to meet with it: it is probably the same production which will be found inserted in our *Annals of the Stage*, vol. i, p. 371.²

Ben Jonson seems to have been present at the catastrophe, and in his *Execration upon Vulcan*, confirms the statement that the Globe was thatched; and adds, that it was set on fire by two chambers (probably the whole stock of ordnance belonging to the company), and burnt down, although the building was flanked with a ditch, so that there could hardly have been a deficiency of water, had there then existed the means of applying it. He exclaims:—

'But, O, those reeds! thy mere disdain of them
Made thee beget that cruel stratagem,
Which some are pleas'd to style but thy mad prank,
Against the Globe, the glory of the Bank;
Which, though it were the fort of the whole parish,
Flank'd with a ditch, and forc'd out of a marish,
I saw with two poor chambers taken in,
And raz'd, ere thought could urge, this might have been.'³

how these fires came: together with the visible apparition of the Devil on the stage, at the Bell-savage playhouse in Queen Elizabeth's days, &c. He would wish to make out that the Devil, *in propria persona*, entered the playhouses, hissing hot, and set them in an instant blaze.

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 68.

² Vol. i, p. 387.

³ This was written prior to 27th June 1629, because Howel, in one of his *Familiar Letters* of that date, if indeed it may be relied upon, clearly refers to the commencement of the poem. He also states, that it was

Howes, in his additions to Stow's *Chronicle*, states that the play in a course of performance was *Henry the Eighth*: it was unquestionably a piece upon that part of history, although Sir Henry Wotton gives it the title of *All is True*, and the burden of the ballad commemorating the calamity tends to show that he was right. The following is the account of Howes.

'Also upon St. Peter's day last (1613), the play-house or Theatre, called the Globe, upon the Bankside near London, by negligent discharging of a peal of ordnance, close to the south-side thereof, the thatch took fire, and the wind suddenly dispersed the flame round about, and in a very short space the whole building was quite consumed, and no man hurt; the house being filled with people to behold the play, viz., of Henry the Eighth: and the next spring it was new builded in far fairer manner than before.'

The reconstruction of the Globe in the 'next spring' 'in far fairer manner than before', is alluded to by John Taylor (the Water-poet), in the twenty-second of his *Quatern of new-catched Epigrams*.

'As gold is better that's in fire tried,
So is the Bankside Globe that late was burn'd,
For where before it had a thatched hide,
Now to a stately theatre is turn'd:
Which is an emblem, that great things are won
By those that dare through greatest dangers run.'

Hence it is clear, that for the thatch which had occasioned the conflagration, tiles were substituted; but it is probable that the whole frame of the exterior (like the Fortune) was still of wood, although more ornamented, both without and within, than it had been before the fire.

written on occasion of Ben Jonson's *second* preservation from fire: perhaps the first was on the consumption of the Globe, which the poet himself tells us he saw.

The King's servants continued to perform at the Globe, with only occasional interruptions from the prevalence of the plague, during every summer until the closing of the theatres, and no other company ever seems to have had any interest or connection with the house. After 1647, it was most likely pulled down; and having been in constant use for more than thirty years, it was no doubt much out of repair. After the Restoration we hear nothing of it.

THE FORTUNE THEATRE.

THE Fortune Theatre in Golden, or Golding Lane, in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, was originally built by Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn in 1599-1600, as appears by an indenture of agreement, bearing date on the 8th of January 1599-1600, between them and a carpenter named Peter Streete, who had before been employed in the construction of the Globe. Maitland is, therefore, in error in calling the Fortune 'the oldest theatre in London', and when, at a subsequent period, John Chamberlain (in a letter to Sir Dudley Carlton, to which we shall have occasion to advert more particularly presently) terms it 'the first playhouse in this town', the expression must be understood to have reference to its size and rank, and not to its antiquity.

Wright, in his *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, states that it was 'a large round brick building', and Malone follows him,¹ without at all adverting to the important fact, that Wright is there speaking of the theatre as it was rebuilt after the fire, by which it was destroyed in December 1621. When Malone

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 55.

wrote his note upon the Fortune, he had not seen the articles of agreement for the erection of the first theatre, in which it is stipulated that the whole fabric shall be of lath, plaster, and timber, and that the external frame shall be eighty feet square: it was originally, therefore, neither a brick building nor round. That it was square also in the inside is evident from the same document, and from the following lines in the prologue to T. Dekker's *Whore of Babylon*, 1607, which was performed at the Fortune—

‘The charms of silence through this *square* be thrown,
That an unus'd attention, like a jewel,
May hang at every ear.’

Had Malone met with this passage he would scarcely have called the Fortune, as it existed prior to 1621, a round building. He also hesitated whether it was ‘built or rebuilt’ in 1599; but there can now be no doubt that there had been no such structure on the site before. In the indenture between Henslowe and Alleyn on the one part, and Peter Streete on the other, it is termed ‘a new house and stage for a play-house’, to be constructed ‘upon a certain plot or piece of ground appointed out for that purpose, situate lying and being near Golding Lane, in the parish of St. Giles without Cripple-gate.’

From the same curious document we learn that the house was to be eighty feet square on the outside and fifty-five feet square within, and although the walls were to be only of lath, plaster, and timber, the foundation was to be laid of piles, brick, lime, and sand, and to rise at least one foot above the ground. As the outer frame was to be eighty feet each way, and the space in the inside fifty-five feet each way, there would remain a depth of twelve feet and a half, on each side of the quadrangle, for the boxes or rooms, galleries, and stair-

cases in front of the stage, and for the 'tiring room and other apartments behind it. The height of the whole building is to be gathered from the stipulation regarding the respective heights of the several floors: it is provided that the boxes, rooms and galleries were to be three stories high, or, as we now express it, in three tiers—the lowest twelve feet high, the second eleven feet high, and the upper story nine feet high, making an altitude of thirty-two feet from the ground. The 'gentlemen's rooms' and the 'two-penny rooms' were to have four divisions, and both, together with the staircases and passages, were to be plastered and ceiled: the rooms were to be furnished with seats, to be floored with deal boarding; and it was agreed moreover that the 'stairs, conveyances and divisions' should be the same as in 'the late erected play-house on the Bank' called the Globe. The width of the stage was to be forty-three feet, leaving, therefore, six feet on each side of it, perhaps, for an entrance into what was called 'the yard', where the spectators stood. The stage was to project to the middle of the yard, or twenty-seven feet and a half, which, added to the twelve feet interval, before noticed, between the outer and inner frames, would make a depth for the stage and 'tiring house (supposing it to be at the back of the stage) of thirty-nine feet and a half. In all other respects the stage was to be 'contrived and fashioned' like the stage at the Globe. The 'tiring house was to be fitted up with glazed windows and lights, and the stage was to be boarded with deal and paled in from the yard with oak: the whole lower story was to be fenced with strong iron piles. The catastrophe at the Globe in 1613, when the thatch caught fire and burnt down the house, probably led to the provision that the stage, staircases, and rooms, at the Fortune, should be covered in from the weather by tiles: the projecting tiled roof over the stage is called in this agreement 'the shadow',

but it was also technically termed 'the heavens':¹ this was to be provided with a leaden gutter to carry backwards the water that might fall upon it, so that it should not drip into the yard, which was of course open to the sky, and therefore quite sufficiently exposed.

Besides the great difference between a square and a round theatre, the only material respect in which the construction of the Fortune varied from that of the Globe, as appears from this agreement, was, that the principal supports of the frame and stage (which stood forward, and were, therefore, in sight) in the Fortune were to be made square instead of round: they were also to be wrought like pilasters; and, for the sake of additional ornament, they were to be surmounted by carved satyrs. Peter Streete undertaking to perform all these articles, Henslowe and Alleyn agreed to pay him the sum of 440*l.* for his work; but it was specially provided that Streete was to be at no charge for painting any part of the building.

This document would probably have been more minute and circumstantial, if Peter Streete had been a workman unaccustomed to such undertakings: even as it stands it gives a more accurate notion of the interior arrangements of a theatre in the time of Shakespeare, than has till now been acquired. There is, however, reason to suppose that the contract was varied as the work proceeded, and that the whole expense was greater than the sum mentioned in the agreement. Anterior to its discovery, Malone found a memorandum in a pocket-book which had belonged to Alleyn,

¹ It is mentioned as 'the heavens' in the agreement between Henslowe and Katherens in August 1613, for the reconstruction of Paris Garden as a 'game place and playhouse'. Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, speaking of the theatre built by Julius Cæsar, says, the 'coverings of the stage (which we call *the heavens*) were geometrically supported'.

from whence it appeared that the sum he actually paid for the Fortune was 520*l*. He there speaks of himself as if he had always been the sole proprietor—'What the Fortune cost *me*', and he refers to November 1599, as the time when he expended that sum upon it.¹ This and other entries regarding the same house do not seem to have been made until June 1610; and at all events we learn from an order of the Privy Council, dated 22nd June 1600, that at that time the Fortune was 'in hand to be built' by Edward Alleyn. Whatever is to be understood by the terms Alleyn employs in his pocket-book, it is quite clear that Henslowe had an interest in the Fortune as late as the year 1608: at Christmas 1603, he entered into an agreement with Robert Shaw, an actor and poet (noticed in Henslowe's *Diary*), who bound himself to produce for 'the Fortune', by a certain day, his play of *The Four Sons of Aymon*.² By June 1610, Alleyn had per-

¹ Hence Malone seems to have concluded that Alleyn was then the sole proprietor of the house (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 222); and although he had Henslowe's *MS. Diary* so long in his possession, he did not find in it that the old manager had an interest in the Fortune for some years afterwards, as indisputably appears by various entries.

² In another part of his manuscript *Diary*, Henslowe enters the sums he had received from the Fortune at Christmas 1608, in the following form:—

'Rd at the Fortewne this yeare, 1608, begenyng at Crystmas hole-daves : Rd one St. Stevenes daye, 25s. ; Rd one St. Johnes daye, 45s. ; Rd one Chillardemas daye, 44s. 9d.'

Henslowe's receipts, in the same year, and on the same days, at Paris Garden, were much more considerable, and perhaps he had a larger share in it, or the concern was more profitable. On the leaf opposite what is above inserted, is another account, thus headed:—

'Rd at the bergarden this yeare, 1608, begininge at Chrystmas hole-days, as foloweth.' It contains only these items : Rd one Monday St. Stevens daye, £4 ; Rd one Tewesdaye St. Johns daye, £6 ; Rd one Wensdaye beinge Chillardemas daye, £3 13s.'

haps become sole proprietor, and in this character might speak of the Fortune, in November 1599, as having cost *him*, without the mention of Henslowe's partnership, 520*l*.¹ In the same memorandum, Alleyn notes the payment of 240*l*., 'for the lease to Drew' (referring most likely to the lease for the ground on which the Fortune stood), and 120*l*. for 'other private buildings of mine own', which may or may not have been connected with the theatre. Thus the total cost of the Fortune, including the 'private buildings', is made to amount to the sum of 880*l*.²

The Fortune, so constructed, was consumed by fire in December 1621, and the following paragraph in a letter from John Chamberlain, to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated the 15th of that month, gives an account of this catastrophe.

¹ In Henslowe's *Diary*, mention is made of payments to a person of the name of Whittington, who was perhaps a sleeping partner in the speculation of the Fortune. To this connection, and to the profits derived from it, Henry Parrat alludes in the following epigram from his '*Laquei Ridiculosi*, Springes for Woodcocks', 1613.

'Tis said that Whittington was rais'd of nought,
And by a cat hath divers wonders wrought:
But *Fortune* (not his cat) makes it appear,
He may dispend a thousand marks a year.'

² In Alleyn's Pocket-book, the entries stand precisely thus:—

'What The Fortune cost me Nov. 1599.	£
First for the leas to Drew - - -	240
Then for building the play-howse - -	520
For privat buildings of myn owne - -	120
So it hath cost me in all for the lease	£880

'Bought the inheritance of the land of the Gills of the Isle of Man within the Fortune, and all the howses in Whight Crosstreet and Goulding lane, in June 1610, for the sum of 340*l*.

'Bought in John Garrets Lease in reversion from the Gills, for 21 years, for 100*l*. So in all it cost me 1320*l*.

'Blessed be the Lord God everlasting.'

'On Sunday night, here was a great fire at the Fortune, in Golding Lane, the first play-house in this town. It was quite burnt down in two hours, and all their apparel and play-books lost, whereby those poor companions are quite undone.'¹

Malone brought this letter to light, and having done so, it is singular that he should not perceive that Dekker and Middleton (whom he quotes under the date of 1611), and Wright, who did not publish his *Historia Histrionica* until nearly ninety years afterwards, could not be speaking of the same theatre: he cites the subsequent lines, from the prologue to Dekker's and Middleton's *Roaring Girl*, 1611, played at the Fortune, in confirmation of Wright's assertion, that it was 'a large round brick building'.

'A roaring girl, (whose notes 'till now ne'er were,) Shall fill with laughter our *vast* theatre.'

It is the more extraordinary that Malone should have fallen into this mistake, because Prynne in the 'epistle dedicatory' to his *Histrionastix*, 1633, expressly states that the Fortune had been '*lately* re-edified and enlarged', and what was then constructed, was the 'large round brick building' mentioned by Wright. As to the word '*lately*' employed by Prynne, it appears on different authority that the Fortune, having been consumed in 1621, was not again completed up to the beginning of 1623, although a time for the re-opening of the house seems to have been previously fixed. In '*Vox*

¹ Until this letter was found among Dr. Birch's MSS. in the British Museum (No. 4173), it was thought, on the mistaken authority of Howes, the continuator of Stow's *Chronicle*, that the Fortune was consumed about 1617. Ben Jonson, in his *Execration upon Vulcan*, in reference to the burning of the Fortune, says,

'Fortune, for being a whore,
Scap'd not his justice any jot the more.'

Graculi, or the Jack-Daw's Prognostications, etc., for this year, 1623, we meet with the following paragraph :—

‘The dugs of this delicate bed-fellow to the sun will so flow with the milk of profit and plenty, that (of all other) some players (if *Fortune*, turned Phœnix, fail not of her promise) will lie sucking at them, with their fulsome forecastings for pence and two-pences, like young pigs at a sow newly farrowed, for that they are in danger to meet with a hard winter, and be forced to travel softly on the hoof.

This publication consists of mock-prognostications for 1623, and it was no doubt printed in the very commencement of that year : the words ‘if *Fortune*, turned Phœnix, fail not of her promise’, refer to the burning and rebuilding of the *Fortune Theatre*, which the players had ‘promised’ to open by a particular time : if they failed to do so, then it was prophesied that they would be obliged ‘to travel softly on the hoof’ round the country for a maintenance.¹

The Theatre thus reconstructed, as we may presume in 1623 (a circumstance to which none of our dramatic historians have referred) was pulled down in 1661. In the *Mercurius Politicus*, from Tuesday, February 14th, to Tuesday, February 21st, in that year, it was advertised to be let, in order that twenty-three tenements with gardens might be erected on the ground it occupied : what was to be the size of the ‘tenements with gardens’ is not stated, but unless they were very small indeed, the *Fortune* and the buildings attached to it must

¹ In *London's Lamentations for her Sins*, by W. C., Pastor of White-Chapel, 1625, written on occasion of the great plague, the following passage occurs, which seems to refer to the re-construction and enlargement of the *Fortune Theatre*, then completed. ‘And when as thy Gospell had glutted us, so as holy lectures begun to be now held like meat out of season, and preaching in some places put down, yet even then, Oh Lord! were the *Theatres magnified and enlarged*, where Satan is served, and sin secretly instilled, if not openly professed.’

have occupied a considerable space. The advertisement is drawn up in this form—

‘The Fortune play-house, situate between Whitecross Street, and Golding Lane, in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, with the ground thereto belonging, is to be let to be built upon ; where twenty-three tenements may be erected, with gardens ; and a street may be cut through for the better accommodation of the buildings.’

We have seen that after the original construction of the Fortune, in 1599-1600, it was in the possession of the theatrical servants of the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham, of whom Edward Alleyn was one ; and from his distinguished talents as a performer, and from his interest in the theatre, we can have no doubt that he was at the head of the company. On the accession of James I, the Lord Admiral’s players were taken under the protection of Prince Henry, and so they remained until his decease. On the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Elector Palatine, the players of Prince Henry were transferred to him, and he procured for them a Patent under the Great Seal, very similar to that which James had granted to Fletcher, Shakespeare, and others, in 1603. This document (which is inserted in the *Annals of the Stage*, vol. i, p. 366) contradicts Malone’s assertion, that Edward Alleyn did not retire until 1616,¹ for his name is not enumerated with

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 222. Malone is extremely loose in his statements at times : having said, in p. 222, that Alleyn performed ‘till 1616’, in a note on the next page he observes, ‘it appears from one of Lord Bacon’s letters, dated August 18, 1618, that Alleyn had in that year left the stage’ ; and then he quotes five words from the letter which prove no such thing, and no such thing can be proved from that authority. Lord Bacon, as Chancellor, is writing to the Marquis of Buckingham, and he commences with these expressions : ‘I thank your Lordship for your last loving letter. I now write to give the King an account of a Patent I have stayed at the Seal. It is of licence to give in mortmain eight hundred pound land, though it be of tenure in chief, to Alleyn that *was*

the rest in the Patent, where it must have appeared, had he then had any connection with the company *as an actor*. The fact undoubtedly is that Alleyn had quitted the stage before the death of Henry, and before the Household-book of that Prince, containing a list of his players, and omitting, like the Patent, the name of Alleyn, was made out.¹ The Privy Seal for the Patent, to the 'servants of our son-in-law the Elector Palatine', to perform 'at their now usual house, called the Fortune', and elsewhere in the King's dominions, is dated the 4th Jan. 1612-13.²

At the date of the fire in 1621, the company who had possessed the Player, for an hospital.' This does not at all show that Alleyn 'had in that year left the stage', or anything like it; but merely that Alleyn, who had, *at some former period*, been a player, was then soliciting for the licence to found his hospital of Dulwich College. Alleyn had certainly retired from the stage before 1612. When he commenced player we have no information; but having been born in 1566, before 1592 he had acquired extraordinary reputation, as appears from the following, hitherto unquoted, passage in Nash's *Strange Newes* (one of his tracts against Gabriel Harvey), printed with that date. 'Signor *Immerito* (so called because he was and is his friend undeservedly) was counterfeited brought in to play a part in that his *Enterlude of Epistles*, that was hissed at, thinking his very name (as the name of Ned Alleyn on the common stage) was able to make an ill matter good.' Alleyn was at the head of a company in September 1593, when *A Knack to know a Knave* was entered on the Stationers' books, as 'sundry times played by Ned Allen and his company'. Having left the stage, but not having parted entirely with his interest in theatrical concerns, he founded Dulwich College in 1619, and died in November 1626.

¹ Under the head of *Comedyanes and Playores*. At what precise date this book, which forms No. 252 of the *Harleian MSS.*, was compiled, does not anywhere appear in it; possibly, not until after the death of the Prince.—See *Annals of the Stage*, i, 375. Thomas Towne was then at the head of the company.

² Prior to 1614, though the precise date cannot now be fixed, the Fortune was sometimes used for other purposes than the exhibition of plays.

session of the Fortune were called the Palsgrave's servants; but the company which, prior to Easter 1640, had performed at the Fortune, changed to the Red Bull Theatre in St. John's Street, and the Prince's company went to the Fortune. In *Fancies Theatre*, 1640, is 'A Prologue upon the removing of the late Fortune players to the Bull', by J. Tatham, in which he requests the audience to remark that the curtains are 'pure Naples silk, not *worsted*', and to forbear the 'wonted custom' of throwing pieces of tile or pears against them 'to lure the actors forth'. We may, perhaps, conclude that at this date the Red Bull was superior to the Fortune.¹

A sign was hung out at the Fortune, as well as at the Globe and other playhouses, but whether it was a statue or a picture, or a painted statue,² and therefore both picture and statue, may admit of doubt. Reed, in his edition of *Dodsley's Old*

In October of that year, John Taylor, the Water-poet, challenged William Fennor to a trial of extempore versifying at the Hope, and published an account of the disappointment, in consequence of Fennor not having ventured to meet him, although he had undertaken to do so. To this tract Fennor wrote a *Defence*, which, together with Taylor's reply (called *A Cast over the Water to William Fennor*), is printed among the *Works of John Taylor*, fol. 1630. In his *Defence*, Fennor excuses his absence, by reference to a similar occurrence, when he gave a challenge of the same kind to a person of the name of Kendall, to compete with him at the Fortune.

'And let me tell thee this to calm thy rage :
I challeng'd Kendall on the *Fortune* stage,
And he did promise, 'fore an audience,
For to oppose me,' &c.

¹ From Lysons' *Environs*, under the head 'Dulwich', it appears that in 1647 the rent of the Fortune was in arrear.

² It was not unusual in the time of Shakespeare to paint busts and statues. One of the most remarkable instances is that of the poet himself, whose bust in the church at Stratford-upon-Avon was coloured, with the eyes, hair, and complexion, (to say nothing of the clothes) as they

Plays, was the first to quote the following lines upon this point from T. Heywood's *English Traveller*, act iv—

‘I'll rather stand here
Like a statue in the forefront of your house
For ever—like the picture of dame Fortune
Before the Fortune Playhouse.’

It did not occur to Malone, who adopts Reed's quotation, to inquire whether Heywood was alluding to the old Fortune Theatre, burnt in 1621, or to the new one, built after that calamity. *The English Traveller* was printed in 1633, and it was probably written after 1621, so that the author is speaking of the representation of Fortune placed upon the building after its reconstruction; but it seems likely that it was only the revival of the sign that had been exposed since the first erection of the theatre. As to the words ‘statue’ and ‘picture’, it is to be remarked, that they were sometimes used synonymously by old writers, as if the custom of painting statues had confused their notions of the difference between a statue and a picture.¹

existed, or may be supposed to have existed in life. Malone, in his strange ignorance of the practice, and shocked at the apparent barbarism of such a representation, procured the bust to be covered with a coat of white paint.

¹ An instance, somewhat in point, will be found in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act iv, scene 4; and there is a singular passage to the same effect, in T. Heywood's *If you know not me you know Nobody*, first published in 1606, where Sir Thomas Gresham is told—

‘Your ship, in which all the king's *pictures* were,
From Brute unto our Queen Elizabeth,
Drawn in white marble, by a storm at sea
Is wreck'd and lost.’

Here we have *pictures* of kings ‘drawn in *white marble*’, so that, at all events, the poet did not mean that they were coloured. Stow also, in his *Annals*, speaking of the attack upon the cross in Cheapside, in 1581,

It is to be presumed that the Fortune Theatre was pulled down in pursuance of the advertisement of 1661, already quoted, for the building of tenements.

THE ROSE, HOPE, SWAN, AND NEWINGTON THEATRES.

IT is clear that there were theatres on the Bankside, near the foot of London Bridge, prior to 1587, for, in October of that year, some of the inhabitants of Southwark complained that plays and interludes were still represented on the Sabbath, 'especially within the Liberty of the Clink, and within the parish of St. Saviour's'.¹

We must, therefore, date the building of the Rose considerably prior to 1587, as in 1591 it was extensively repaired by Philip Henslowe, to whom it belonged, and who bought the ground on which it stood.² The following items are extracted from Henslowe's *Diary* in Dulwich College: they are a few among a great many thus headed, 'A note of such charges as I have lay'd owt abowte my play-howsse.' It is dated 1592, but the account begins in 1591—

says, that the mob finding they could not pull down the 'lowest images', 'plucked the *picture* of Christ out of his mother's lap, whereon he sate.'

¹ *Vide Annals of the Stage*, i, 278.

² Mr. Ouvry, F.S.A., is in possession of a document which may shew that a Theatre was built as a house of entertainment some years before the Globe was constructed on the Bankside. It recites a lease by Stephen Gardner for 99 years, mentions the stairs in Southwark, and a public house named the Barge, besides others with the signs of the Bell and the Cock. Maiden Lane is also spoken of where the Globe was subsequently constructed: it bears date in 1582, 24 Eliz. but does not mention Henslowe, nor the Rose Theatre by name.

'Item Lent the thecher (thatcher) 20s. ; Itm pd for payntinge my stage, 11s. ; Itm pd for sellynge (ceiling) the rome ner the tyerhowsse, 10s. ; Itm pd for sellings to my Lords Rome, 4s. ; Itm pd for makinge the penthowsse shed at the tyeringe howse doore, 10s.'

Malone saw nothing of these curious particulars, though the MS. was for years in his hands, and he merely states, on the authority of an old satirist, that the Rose was built before 1598.¹ In the same *Diary* are other accounts, dated 1593, from which it is evident that certain playhouses in which Henslowe was concerned, but which are not named, were then repaired : one of them is thus entitled, 'A note of what I have layd owt about my playhowses for payntinge and doinge about with ealme bordes, and other reparacyones as foloweth, 1593, in Lent.' These repairs, therefore, were made in Lent while the theatres were closed : the words 'doing about with elm boards' refer to the external wood-work of the houses. At this period Henslowe certainly had an interest in the Rose and the Newington Theatres, if not in others. Many, if not most of the older plays he enumerates in his *Diary*, must have been performed at one or other of these houses.

We have not found any other notice of the Rose by name in the MS. prior to 1600, on the 28th of October of which year Lord Pembroke's men began to perform there. The Rose (with the exception of Paris Garden, which was used both for plays and bear-baiting) was, we imagine, the oldest theatre on the Banksidē. In 1603, when Henslowe treated for the renewal of the lease of the ground on which it stood, he called it 'the little Rose', and it was clearly of small dimensions. How soon after 1603 his lease was to expire he does not mention, but on the 25th of June, in that year, he minutes down the substance of conversations he had had at a scrivener's

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 54.

with the ground-landlord, when he was required, if the lease were renewed, to pay 20*l.* a-year rent, and to lay out 100 marks upon the building : his determination on this proposal was, that he would rather 'pull down the playhouse', than accede to terms he considered so exorbitant.

The Rose and Curtain seem to have been in good reputation in 1598, when *Skialetheia, or the Shadow of Truth*, a collection of satires and epigrams, was printed. In the fifth satire we meet with the following mention of them—

' Here may I sit, yet walk to Westminster,
And hear Fitzherbert, Plowden, Brooke, and Dyer,
Canvas a law-case : or if my dispose
Persuade me to a play, I'll to the *Rose*
Or *Curtain*, one of Plautus' Comedies,
Or the pathetic Spaniard's Tragedies.'

Unless the performance at these houses were popular, it is singular that the writer of *Skialetheia* should specify them, particularly as the Globe and Blackfriars were then open, and Shakespeare a principal writer for them.

Respecting the first construction of the Hope Theatre on the Bankside, we have no information, but there can be little doubt that it was in existence considerably before 1600, and we may infer that some time before the date of Taylor's (the water-poet) *Waterman's Suit concerning Players*, in 1613, it had been only used as a bear-garden. That tract was written before the burning of the Globe in June 1613 ; and after noticing the first arrival of the players on the Bankside, when they originally quitted London and Middlesex, he speaks of their subsequent desertion of that quarter, adding, that he had known 'three companies, besides the bear-baiting, at once, there—to wit, the Globe, the Rose, and the Swan'. The bear-baiting was both at the Hope and at Paris Garden, neither of which Taylor includes : he complains farther, that in 1613,

'all the players, except the king's men, had left their usual residency on the Bankside and played in Middlesex, far remote from the Thames.' The fact may be, that prior to this date, during which period Shakespeare continued to write for 'the king's men', no other company could make it answer to perform in the same vicinity, and, consequently, removed to the London side of the water.

The burning of the Globe appears to have led to the return of some of the players to the Bankside, and to the conversion of the Hope again into a playhouse. Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was represented there on the 31st of October 1614; and he bears testimony to its condition, and to the dramatic decorum of choosing that theatre, inasmuch as it was 'as dirty as Smithfield, and as stinking every whit', in consequence of the use to which it had previously been applied. On the 7th of October, preceding the production of Ben Jonson's play, Taylor, as we have seen, had challenged William Fennor, an extempore rhymor, to 'answer him in a trial of wit' at the Hope. Fennor failed of his appointment, and his antagonist consequently wrote a violent attack upon him;¹ and hence we learn (as far as this author's testimony is of value) that the actors at the Hope were—

'Such a company, I'll boldly say,
That better (nor the like) e'er play'd a play.'

They were called the servants of the Princess Elizabeth. Taylor informs us, also, that the Hope was tiled (which, as will have been observed, by the payment of Henslowe, in 1591, to the thatcher, the Rose was not) and that it was furnished with hangings. It had also its 'tiring-house', for the stage-keeper in *Bartholomew Fair* tells the audience, that the author

¹ Works of Taylor, the Water-poet, folio, 1630, p. 142. The paging of the volume is very irregular, and there are three pages marked 142 in it. We refer to the second of them.

had kicked him three or four times about it for 'offering to put in with his experience', though he had 'kept the stage in Master Tarlton's time'. If it be to be understood that he had kept that particular stage in Tarlton's time, the Hope must, of course, have been in existence prior to 1588.

The proximity of the Hope, while yet a bear-garden, to the Rose is to be gathered from the following ironical passage in Dekker's *Satiromastix*, 1602, in allusion to it:—'Thou hadst a breath as sweet as the Rose—that grows by the bear-garden'. The atmosphere, therefore, at the Rose was impregnated with the effluvia from the Hope.

The Swan, also on the Bankside, but more to the westward, was a theatre in some repute anterior to 1598, and Robert Wilson (as is stated by Meres in his *Palladis Tamia*, fol. 286) gave a challenge there at extempore versification, and came off victorious. His antagonist on the occasion is not named. In 1603 William Fennor (or Vennor as his name is sometimes spelt) got up a piece at the Swan called *England's Joy*, a sort of show relating to the life and apotheosis of Queen Elizabeth. It had been abandoned, as mentioned by Taylor in 1613, and we are without any distinct evidence that it was ever afterwards used as a regular playhouse. Malone has stated,¹ on the authority of Sir H. Herbert's office-book, that both the Rose and the Swan, after 1620, were only employed occasionally by gladiators and fencers. That such continued to be the case in 1632, may be gathered from a pamphlet then printed called *Holland's Leaguer*, where the author speaks of 'three famous amphitheatres', the Globe, the Hope and the Rose, 'which stood so near situated, that the eye might take view of them from the lowest turret'. Of the Globe only he remarks, that 'half the year a world of beauties and brave spirits resorted unto it', referring to its continued popularity as a

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 56.

theatre devoted to the representation of regular dramatic productions.

The theatre at Newington Butts was certainly of ancient foundation, and it appears to have been originally opened for the amusement of those who strolled out of London in the summer to amuse themselves with shooting at the target, or otherwise. One of Henslowe's accounts is thus entitled :— 'In the name of God, Amen, begininge at Newington, my lord Admirrells men and my lord Chamberlens men as foloweth, 1594', showing that two companies of players acted there, previously to the completion of the Globe, after which the Lord Chamberlain's servants confined themselves to their new theatre and to the Blackfriars. Howes, enumerating seventeen common playhouses built in London and the suburbs within the sixty years preceding 1631, mentions 'one in former time at Newington Butts'.

Chalmers asserts that it was in existence before 1586,¹ and that it is mentioned in the Privy Council Registers, under date of 11th of May in that year ; but he confounds it with the playhouse emphatically called 'the Theatre' in Shoreditch; and on consulting the *Register*, we find that no such playhouse as the Newington Theatre is there spoken of. How long anterior to 1594, when it was mentioned by Henslowe, it had been erected, nowhere appears, nor do we at all know when it ceased to be employed. The old *Hamlet*, the old *Taming of a Shrew*, preceding Shakespeare's plays, *Titus Andronicus*, Marlow's *Few of Malta*, *Tamburlaine*, and many others, were performed there; and Henslowe enters his proportion of the profits on these occasions as amounting sometimes to 3*l.* or 4*l.* He must either have had a very considerable share in the concern, or the house must have been large.

In Field's *A Woman is a Weathercock*, printed in 1612, and

¹ *Apology for the Believers*, etc., 403.

written two or three years earlier, Sir Abraham, a silly gull, is complacently repeating to himself some lines he had written to mollify his mistress, two of which run thus—

‘I die, I sigh, thou precious stony jewel !
Wearing of silk, why art thou still so cruel ?’

punning upon the words ‘crewel’ and ‘cruel’; on which Pendant, who overhears him, ejaculates, aside—

‘Oh, Newington conceit ! and quieting eke’ ;

which was probably meant to ridicule the nature of the performances at the Newington Theatre, which might not then have been entirely discontinued. It is, we think, the only reference to this playhouse that we have met with in any dramatic poet or pamphleteer of the time.

THE RED BULL THEATRE.

WE have no account of the date of the erection and opening of the Red Bull, which stood at the upper end of St. John Street. It seems most likely that it was originally an inn yard, like the Bell Savage on Ludgate Hill, where we know, from Gosson’s *School of Abuse*, that plays were performed before 1579. The same puritanical writer, indeed, mentions ‘the Bull’, where the ‘prose book’ of *The Jew and Ptolemy* was performed, but he alludes to the Bull Inn in Bishopsgate Street. Malone was in possession of no information on the point, and merely states that the Red Bull was one of the playhouses open in the time of Shakespeare. We apprehend that it was constructed, or converted into a regular theatre late in the reign of Elizabeth ; and in the commencement of

that of James I, we find the Queen's servants, who had been the Earl of Worcester's players, exhibiting there.

George Wither, in 1613, published his *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, and he several times speaks of the Red Bull, and of the performances there, in terms of no great respect, coupling it with the Curtain, which seems to have had no better reputation : in his first satire, for instance, he introduces a ruffling lover courting his mistress, and of him he remarks,

‘ His poetry is such as he can cull

From plays he heard at Curtain or at Bull.’¹

Wentworth Smith's *Hector of Germany*, 1615, purports to have been ‘ publicly acted at the Red Bull, and at the Curtain, by a company of young men of the city’, as if at that time those houses were not in constant use by a regular company ; yet Thomas Heywood's *Four Prentices of London*, of the same date, shows that ‘ the Queen's Majesty's servants’ were still at least in occasional occupation of the Red Bull, for the title-page states in terms that it was acted there. It is doubtful, however, whether the edition of 1615 be the earliest, and there is ground for believing that the piece was produced at least some years before it was printed. *Swetnam the Woman-hater, arraigned by Women*,² written on a temporary subject about

¹ In *Albumazar*, 1615, Trincalo couples it with the Fortune—‘ Oh, ’tis Armellina ! now, if she have the wit to begin, as I mean she should, then will I confound her with compliments drawn from the plays I see at the Fortune and Red Bull, where I learn all the words I speak and understand not.’

² This anonymous old play contains some fine writing, and is altogether a highly creditable performance. The following couplet, which closes the second scene of the fourth act, is one of the noblest and justest images in our language :—

‘ Justice, like lightning, ever should appear
To few men's ruin, but to all men's fear’.

It is better than Webster's celebrated simile, which is neither noble

1619, and printed in 1620, as it was 'acted at the Red Bull by the late Queen's servants', prove that they continued there until the death of Anne, when, of course, they ceased to be her players. Thomas Heywood became one of the Queen's servants on the accession of James I, and his duodecimo, entitled *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*, 1637, is a collection of short pieces written by him 'upon several occasions', and at dates remote from each other. Among them we find a Prologue and Epilogue to *Richard III*, when the principal part was played by 'a young witty lad at the Red Bull', but we have no clue to the exact date of this performance.

The Red Bull is one of the 'two old playhouses' which Prynne states, in the Dedication to his *Histrionmastix*, 1633, had been 'lately re-edified and enlarged'; and if any proof can be gathered from this fact, we may possibly infer, that it was of about the same age as the Fortune, which was the other old playhouse, which had also been rebuilt upon an enlarged plan. In Randolph's *Muses' Looking Glass*, the puritanical Mrs. Flowerdew mentions the Bull as one of the playhouses of which a zealous brother had prayed for the demolition.¹ Randolph died in 1634, at the age of twenty-seven; and as we do not know precisely when his *Muses' Looking Glass* was written, we cannot decide whether he speaks of the Red Bull as it stood before it was 're-edified and enlarged', or afterwards.

In the year 1622, according to Sir Henry Herbert's office book, 'the players of the Revels' had possession of the Red

nor just, but which he was so fond of, that he used it in one play (*Vittoria Corombona*, 1612), and repeated it in another (*Duchess of Malfi*, 1623).

'Glories, like glow-worms, afar off shine bright,
But look'd to near, have neither heat nor light'.

¹ Act i, scene 1. *Dodsley's Old Plays*, Edit. 1825, ix, 148.

Bull ; but it never seems to have been in very good repute.¹ In 1630 (in some lines prefixed to Davenant's *Just Italian*, acted at the Blackfriars), T. Carew very severely handles the performers at the Red Bull and Cock-pit—

‘ They ’ll still slight
All that exceeds Red Bull or Cockpit flight.
These are the men in crowded heaps that throng
To that adulterate stage, where not a tongue
Of th’ untun’d kennel can a line repeat
Of serious sense.’

After the suppression of the theatres, in 1647, the Red Bull seems to have been used for the clandestine representation of plays ; and in our *Annals of the Stage* (ii, 47) will be found an account of the arrest of players there, on 20th December 1649. It is one of the deserted theatres enumerated by Sir Aston Cockayne, in his *Prælude to Richard Brome's Five New Plays*, 1652 ; yet on the title-page of Robert Cox's *Acteon and Diana* (2nd Edit., 1656), it is said that it was acted at the Red Bull with great applause.

It was not pulled down until some time after the Restoration ; and when Davenant produced his *Playhouse to be Let* in 1663, it was entirely abandoned : ‘ the Red Bull (he says) stands empty for fencers : there are no tenants in it but spiders.’ The king's actors, under Thomas Killigrew, had however played there, until they removed to the new theatre in Drury Lane.

¹ Sampson and Markham's *Herod and Antipator* was played by ‘ the Company of the Revels’, at the Red Bull, and printed in 1622.

THE COCKPIT, OR PHŒNIX.

THE Cockpit Theatre, which was also sometimes called the Phœnix¹ (as Malone plausibly conjectures from the sign by which it was distinguished), was certainly not converted into a playhouse until after James I had been some time on the throne. How long before that date it had been used, as the name implies, as a place for the exhibition of cock-fighting, we are without such information as will enable us to form even a conjecture. Camden, in his *Annals of James I*, speaking of the attack upon it in March 1616-17, says that the Cockpit Theatre was then *nuper erectum*, by which we are to understand, perhaps, that it had been lately converted from a cockpit into a playhouse. Howes, in his *Continuation of Stow*, advertising to the same event, calls it 'a new playhouse', as if it had then been recently built from the foundation.

Queen Anne's servants (of whom Thomas Heywood was one) played just after the death of Elizabeth at the Red Bull,² but they appear subsequently to have removed to the Cock-

¹ Randolph, in his *Muses' Looking Glass*, terms it 'the Phœnix', as well as Sir Aston Cockayne, in his Præludium to Brome's *Five New Plays*, 1652—

'Then shall learn'd Jonson re-assume his seat,
Revive the Phœnix by a second heat.'

Wright, in his *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, expressly tells us, that it was called 'the Cockpit or Phœnix in Drury Lane.' It seems by degrees to have lost the name of the Cockpit, as the memory of cock-fighting there gradually died away.

² Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, 1608, purports to have been 'acted by her Majesties servants at the Red Bull,' and possibly they played there until the Cockpit was ready to receive them. In later copies, into which a variety of new matter is introduced, it is said that the piece was performed 'at the Cockpit or Phœnix'.

pit; and they continued to perform there at the time when the apprentices and the mob attacked it on Shrove-Tuesday, the 4th March 1616-17.

Prynne asserts, and there could be no doubt of the fact without his assertion, that the neighbourhood of a theatre was always filled with houses of ill-fame,¹ and he particularly points out the Cockpit in Drury Lane, as a great encouragement of immorality: he is careful not to state matters of the kind on his own knowledge:—‘This I have heard (he says) on good intelligence; that our common strumpets and adulteresses, after our stage-plays ended, are often times prostituted near our playhouses, if not in them; that our theatres, if they are not bawdy-houses (as they may easily be, since many players, if reports be true, are common pandars), yet they are cousin-germans, at leastwise neighbours to them: witness the Cockpit and Drury Lane; Blackfriars playhouse and Duke Humphries; the Red Bull and Turnbulla-street; the Globe and Bankside brothel-houses, with others of this nature.’ Such, in fact, was the origin of the animosity of the London apprentices against the Cockpit in March 1616-17, for at Shrovetide they had always exercised the privilege of assailing and putting down houses of ill-fame. Camden says, *à furente multitudine diruitur, et apparatus dilaceratur*; but the fact does not quite bear out this statement, as will be seen by the account of the event in the *Annals of the Stage* (i, 385). Howes, in his *Continuation of Stow*, speaks more cautiously: he observes, that ‘the disordered persons’, having assembled in Lincoln’s-Inn-Fields, ‘spoiled’ the playhouse, and they certainly rendered it unfit for use for a short time, besides tearing the dresses and burning many of the books. Soon afterwards we find the Queen’s servants again performing at the Cockpit.

¹ *Histriomastix*, 1633, p. 390.

Malone suggests that after the death of Anne in 1619, the Queen's servants became those of the Princess Elizabeth, and were so called until the marriage of Charles I, in 1625, when they again took their old designation. In confirmation of this opinion, it may be noticed, that William Rowley's *All's lost by Lust*, 1633 (in which the author played Jaques, 'a simple clownish gentleman'), purports to have been 'divers times acted by the Lady Elizabeth's servants, and now lately by her Majesty's servants, with great applause, at the Phoenix in Drury Lane.' Hence it is clear that it was brought out between 1619 and 1625, and that it was revived at the same theatre not long before 1633.

In what has been said of the Red Bull playhouse, it will be seen that T. Carew, in 1630, puts the performances there and at the Cockpit on a level, and from two lines in F. Lenton's *Young Gallant's Whirligig*, 1629, it is evident that the productions at the Cockpit were usually esteemed of an inferior description to those of the Blackfriars:—

'The Cockpit heretofore would serve his wit,
But now upon the Friars stage he'll sit,' etc.

The *Hannibal and Scipio* of Thomas Nabbes, and the same author's *Bride* (both pieces of no extraordinary merit) were performed respectively in 1635 and 1638 by 'the Queen's servants at their private house in Drury Lane'.

Richard Brome's excellent comedy *The Antipodes*, printed in 1640, was 'acted (as the title-page informs us) in the year 1638, by the Queen's Majesty's servants, at Salisbury Court in Fleet Street'; so that this play, comparing it with the title-page of *The Bride* by Nabbes, shows the precise date at which the Queen's players left the Cockpit and went to the Salisbury Court Theatre, viz., 1638, between the time when *The Bride* was brought out at the former and *The Antipodes* at the

latter. At the end of the last of these plays we read the following note by the author of it:—

‘Courteous Reader, you shall find in this book more than was presented upon the stage, and left out of the presentation for superfluous length (as some of the players pretended): I thought good it should be inserted according to the allowed original, and as it was at first intended for the Cockpit stage, in the right of my most deserving friend, Mr. William Beeston, unto whom it properly appertained; and so I leave it to thy perusal, as it was generally applauded and well acted at Salisbury Court. Farewell. R. L. BROME.’

It will be seen in the *Annals of the Stage*, that it was precisely at this date that William Beeston collected, what Sir H. Herbert calls ‘a company of boys, and began to play with them at the Cockpit’. He mentions having at the same time ‘disposed of Perkins, Sumner, Sherlock and Turner to Salisbury Court’, and no doubt some or all of them assisted in the performance of Brome’s *Antipodes*.

We learn from Wright¹ and several other authorities, that the Cockpit was standing after the Restoration; and Sir W. Davenant’s company, called the Duke’s players, acted there until they removed to the new theatre in Portugal Row in the spring of 1662.

¹ *Historia Histrionica*, 1699.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE THEATRES.

OUR old theatres were either public or private: 'what (says Malone¹) were the distinguishing marks of a private playhouse it is not easy to ascertain. We know only that it was smaller than those which were called public theatres, and that in the private theatres, plays were usually presented by candle-light.'

From various authorities, not hitherto consulted, we find that there were of old seven 'distinguishing marks of a private playhouse'.

1. Private theatres were of smaller dimensions than public theatres.
2. They were entirely roofed in from the weather, while public theatres were open to the sky, excepting over the stage and boxes, or rooms.
3. The performances at private theatres were usually by candle or torch light.
4. They had *pits*, furnished with seats; and not *yards*, as they were called in public theatres, where the spectators stood to behold the play.
5. The audiences at private theatres usually consisted of a superior class of persons.
6. The visitors there had a right to sit upon the stage during the performances.

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 61.

7. The boxes or rooms of private theatres were inclosed and locked.

The first distinction depends rather upon inference than upon positive testimony. Wright, in his *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, mentions that the three private houses, the Blackfriars, the Cockpit in Drury Lane, and the theatre in Salisbury Court, were 'built almost exactly alike, for form and bigness'. Nabbe's Comedy of *Tottenham Court* (printed in 1638) was acted at Salisbury Court, in 1633, and from the epilogue we find that, compared with others, it was a small theatre: the author says:—

‘If I win

Your kind commends, 'twill bring more custom in :
When others' fill'd rooms with neglect disdain ye,
My *little house* (with thanks) shall entertain ye.’

Wright informs us, in the same paragraph from which we have above quoted, that the large public theatres, the Globe, Fortune, and Bull, 'lay partly open to the weather'. Had the private theatres been exposed in the same manner, it would have been almost impossible to have carried on the performances by means of candles or torches.

It does not follow, because the plays at private theatres were acted by candle or torch light, that the performances took place at night. On the contrary, according to 'the remedies' proposed by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, about the period when the Blackfriars Theatre was built, it was recommended that the performance of plays should conclude at such an hour that the audience might return home 'before sun-set, or, at least, before dark'. It is true that this order then principally applied to the exhibitions in inn-yards; but we may conclude, from a passage in Dekker's *Seven Deadly Sins of London*, 1606, that the windows of private playhouses were put down, when it was intended that

the stage should represent night : the torches were probably also then partly extinguished, or removed for the same purpose, as light seems to have been derived from both : his words are : 'all the city looked like a private playhouse, when the *windows are clapped down*, as if some *nocturnal* or dismal tragedy were presently to be acted.' Marston's *What you Will*, 1607, was most likely performed at Blackfriars, but certainly at a private theatre ; and in the Induction, Doricus and Philomuse, who are supposed to be part of the audience, are directed to sit a good while on the stage before candles are lighted. When, just afterwards, Doricus exclaims, 'Let there be no deeds of darkness done among us', he must, of course, refer to the comparative obscurity of the house before the candles were lighted. That torches were also used at Blackfriars, we find from Francis Lenton's *Young Gallant's Whirligig*, 1629 :—

'All his spangled, rare, perfum'd attires,
Which once so glister'd at the *torchy Friars*,
Must to the broker's.'

The Prologue to Shirley's *Doubtful Heir*, performed before 1646, may be quoted for the double purpose of showing that in the pits of private theatres the audience were accommodated with seats, and that the visitors consisted of a superior class to the ordinary attendants of public theatres. That play, designed for the Blackfriars, was, in fact, performed at the Globe ; and the author tells the spectators plainly, that he 'did not calculate it for that meridian', and advises them to suppose they were not at the Globe, but at the Blackfriars :

'And sit
As you were now in the Blackfriars' *pit*.'
He had previously told the 'grave *understanders*',
 'The Bankside, he knows,
Are far more skilful at the ebbs and flows
Of water, than of wit'—

and he warns them not to expect, in his play, the 'target fighting' and 'cutler's work', to which at the Globe they were accustomed.¹ The audiences at the private houses, for one of which Shirley's plays was written, were not usually treated with these vulgar noisy exhibitions; and Nabbes, in 1635, addressing those who were collected to see his *Hannibal and Scipio*, 'at the private theatre called the Cockpit in Drury Lane', informs the ladies that they need not there

'Fear the horrid sight,
And the more horrid noise of target fight,
By the blue-coated stage-keepers : our spheres
Have better music to delight your ears.'

W. Fennor (as well as many other authors), in his *Descriptions*, 1616, speaks with great contempt of that part of the audience in a public theatre which occupied the *yard*: he calls them, ironically, the 'understanding, grounded men', and then adds :—

'Let but one ask the reason why they roar,
They 'll answer, 'cause the rest did so before :
But leave we these, who for their just reward
Shall gape and gaze among the *fools in the yard*.'

That there were, however, degrees in the private theatres is clear from two lines in a tract before quoted (F. Lenton's

¹ It is difficult to imagine how such a prologue could have been delivered without mortal offence, and perhaps it never was spoken. It was first printed in the collection of Shirley's Poems in 1646, and there the first line stands thus :—

'Gentlemen, I am only sent to say,' etc. ;

but when the play was printed in 1652, the author left out the word 'Gentlemen,' as if he repented that he had condescended to apply it to the audience at the Globe :

'All that the Prologue comes for is to say,' etc.

Young Gallant's Whirligig), where, speaking of his hero, he says—

‘The *Cockpit* heretofore would serve his wit,
But now upon the *Friars*’ stage he ’ll sit.’

This quotation brings us to the intrusion of spectators on the stage, where they used to stand, lie, or sit, often very much to the annoyance of the actors, and to the injury of the scene. In the Induction to Marston’s *Malecontent*, 1604, the Attireman wishes to remove Sly and others, supposed to form part of the audience, to which Sly replies—‘Why, we *may* sit upon the stage at the *private house*’: there is reason to believe that here it might be insisted upon as a right, though not always enforced; for in the induction to another of Marston’s plays, *What you Will*, Atticus says to his two companions—‘Let’s place ourselves within the curtains, for, good faith, the stage is so very little.’ This remark applied probably to the private house of the Blackfriars: nevertheless, according to Dekker’s *Gull’s Horn-book*, 1609, elsewhere cited, the most confident and obtrusive gallants sometimes ‘published their fine suits’ to the same advantage, even at the public play-houses. The expression there used of ‘the *opposed* rascality’, shows that such a practice was ill endured at the public theatre; but that Dekker, in this quotation, particularly refers to a public theatre is evident from what he adds: ‘neither are you to be hunted from thence, though the scarecrows in the *yard* hoot at you.’ The term *yard* was peculiar to public theatres: if he had intended to include private theatres he would probably have used the word *pit*. Malone, who takes various quotations from this pamphlet, failed to remark the import of this passage.¹

The boxes or ‘rooms’ at private theatres were enclosed and

¹ Lenton, in his *Young Gallant's Whirligig*, 1629, makes no difference between public and private theatres in this respect.

locked, and the key given to the individual engaging them. Among the *Strafford Letters* (i, 511), is one from Mr. Garrard, which, under date of January 5, 1635, contains the following sentence:—‘A little pique happened between the Duke of Lenox and the Lord Chamberlain, about a box in the new play in the Blackfriars, of which the Duke had got *the key*.’ Of course the rooms, or boxes, must have been separated from each other at the public theatres ; and the word ‘rooms’ seems to imply, that they were so enclosed as to form them into distinct apartments. Generally speaking, no places seem to have been kept either at public or private theatres ; and W. Fennor, in his *Counter’s Commonwealth*, 1617, observes, ‘each man sate down without respecting of persons, for he that first comes is first seated, like those that come to see plays.’

‘This golden ass, in this hard iron age,
 Aspireth now to sit upon the stage :
 Looks round about, then views his glorious self ;
 Throws money here and there, swearing Hang pelf !
 As if the splendour of his mightiness
 Should never see worse days nor feel distress.’

It is to be observed, however, that in a subsequent part of his poem Lenton mentions the Blackfriars and the Cockpit, both private houses ; but he adds that his gay hero also visited the Globe.

The following is even more decisive :—‘But turning my legacy to you ward, Barnaby Burning-glass, Arch-tobacco-taker of England, in ordinaries, upon stages *both common and private*.’—*The Black Book*, 1604.

PRICE OF ADMISSION TO THEATRES.

THE prices of admission, both to public and private theatres, seem to have varied according to their rank and estimation, and to have been raised on particular occasions.

At the close of Dekker's dedication of his play, *If it be not good the Devil is in it* (printed in 1612), to his 'friends and fellows' the Queen's servants, he wishes them 'a full audience and one honest door-keeper', as if a single person was usually entrusted with the taking of the money, and was sufficient for the purpose.¹ The receipts were put into a box which he held : in the *Mouse-trap*, *Epigrams*, by H. P., 1606, are the following lines—

'Magus would needs, forsooth, the other day,
Upon an idle humour, see a play ;
When asking him at door who *held the box*,
What might you call the play ? quoth he, The Fox,' etc.

¹ About half a century afterwards there seem to have been several doors, one within the other, at any of which the visitors of the theatre might pay. This occasioned confusion and fraud, and it was thought a sufficiently important matter to call for the royal interference : accordingly the following order was issued, applicable to 'the Royal Theatre' in 1664-5. It was found among the MSS. in the State Paper Office.

'Whereas complaint hath been made unto us by our Servants, the Actors in the Royal Theatre, that divers persons refuse to pay at the first door of the said Theatre, thereby obliging the door-keepers to send after, solicit, and importune them for their entrance money. For the prevention thereof of those disorders, and that such as are employed by the said Actors may have no opportunity of deceiving them, our will and pleasure is that all persons coming to the said Theatre shall, at the first door, pay their entrance money (to be restored to them again in case they return the same way before the end of the Act), requiring the guards attending there, and all whom it may concern, to see that obedience be given hereunto, and that the names of all who shall offer any violence contrary to this our pleasure, be returned to the Ld. Chamberlain of our Household.

'Given, etc., the 27th February 1664-5. By, etc.'

In *Every Woman in her Humour*, 1609, one of the characters remarks—'Tis even as common to see a basin at a church door, as a *box* at a playhouse', meaning, of course, the money-box at the entrance of the theatre. Prynne bears testimony that such continued to be the custom in 1633, when he observes (*Histrionomastix*, p. 327), 'the very contributing to *players boxes* (of which every common spectator must be always culpable) is not only apparent prodigality, but a giant-like vice'.

Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was acted in 1614, at the Hope, a small dirty theatre (which had been used also for bear-baiting), on the Bankside; and according to the induction, the prices there varied from 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*¹ He stipulates that 'it shall be lawful for any man to judge his six-penny-worth, his twelve-penny-worth, so to his eighteen-pence, two-shillings, half-a-crown,¹ to the value of his place—provided always his place get not above his wit'. It is to be remembered, however, that this induction was probably written with a view to the first representation of the play, and that on those occasions additional charges were sometimes made to the spectators; and but for this temporary increase in the price of admission, it would be difficult to reconcile the sums stated by Ben Jonson with the low character he himself gives of the Hope Theatre. From Taylor's (the Water-poet) *Works*,² it appears that when he challenged Fennor at the Hope (who did not come according to his undertaking), to answer him *ex tempore*, a large audience was collected, and extra-money was paid on entrance, in consequence, perhaps, of the unusual nature of the exhibition:—

¹ 'The half-crown boxes' at theatres are also mentioned in Fletcher's *Wit without Money*, act i, sc. 1, which was played at the Cockpit in Drury-lane prior to 1620.

² 1630, p. 146.

'The audience all were wrong'd with great abuse :
Great cause they had to take it in offence,
To come from their affairs with such expence,
By land and water, and then at the play
So *extraordinary to pay*;
And when the thing should be as they expected,
Then nothing to their likings was effected.'

Jasper Mayne, alluding to the popularity of Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, in his lines in memory of that poet, says,—

'So when the Fox had ten times acted been,
Each day was *first*, but that 'twas *cheaper seen*'—

meaning, of course, that each day was as crowded as the first had been, only that the spectators were admitted at a cheaper rate afterwards, than on the first day.

According to the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, before cited, the lowest sum taken at the door of the Hope, when that comedy was first played there, was six-pence, but at the Fortune and Red Bull, which were large public theatres, there were two-penny rooms or galleries. As regards the former, this fact incontestably appears from the Articles of Agreement between Henslowe and Alleyn, on one part, and Streete the carpenter, on the other, for its construction in 1599-1600; and in Dekker's and Middleton's *Roaring Girl*, 1611, one of the characters mentions having taken 'a nip', or pickpocket, in 'the two-penny gallery at the Fortune'. That 'gallery' and 'room' were here synonymous seems proved by the fact, that the Articles of Agreement calls them 'two-penny rooms', and the authors of *The Roaring Girl*, a 'two-penny gallery'. Dekker himself, in his *News from Hell*, 1606, uses the words 'two-penny rooms': adverting to the omnipresence of the Devil, he says, 'Every market-day you may take him in Cheapside, poorly attired, like an engrosser, and in the after-

noons in the *two-penny rooms* of a play-house, like a puny seated cheek by jowl with a punk.' Again he speaks of 'two-penny galleries' in his *Seven Deadly Sins*, 1606, after describing crowds 'glewed together by the steams of strong breath, and after alluding to the benefit reaped by players, in consequence of the arrival of foreign ambassadors who visited the theatres: he says, that Sloth will attract as large an audience, 'because 'tis given out that he will come and sit in the two-penny galleries amongst the gentlemen, and see their knaveries and pastimes'.¹ Here, of course, he uses the term 'gentlemen' ironically; for the two-penny gallery was the highest part of the house, as may be gathered from the following sentence in *Vox Graculi*, 1623: 'Give me leave to air your thoughts on a nimblér wing, where they shall fly in a high place, and from whence (as if you sat in the most perspicuous *two-penny gallery* of a playhouse) you shall with perspicacity behold all the parts, which I (your new-come astrologer) shall act among the stars.'

Such, probably, continued to be the price of admission into this part of the Fortune and Bull, many years afterwards; for in Goffe's *Careless Shepherdess*, 1656 (acted at Salisbury Court Theatre), we read the following lines:—

'I will hasten to the money-box,
And take my shilling out again—
I'll go to the Bull or Fortune, and there see
A play for two-pence, and a jig to boot.'

John Lyly, the author of *Pap with a Hatchet*, printed before 1590, informs us, in a marginal note, that if Martin Mar-prelate were exhibited on the stage, he could be seen 'at St.

¹ Dekker mentions the two-penny gallery again, generally, as if play-houses commonly had one, in his *Knight's Conjuring*, 1607: 'and the player loves a poet so long as the sickness lies in the *two-penny gallery*, when none will come into it'.

Paul's for four-pence, and at the Theatre for two-pence'. On the other hand, with regard to the last, T. Nash, in his *Martin's Month's Mind*, 1589, states that the admission to 'the Theatre and the Curtain' was 'only a penny'; but the discrepancy may be reconciled by the passage already quoted from Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, 1576: 'Those who go to Paris Garden, the Bell-Savage, or Theatre, to behold bear-baiting, interludes, or fence-play, must not account of any pleasant spectacle, unless first they pay one penny at the gate, another at the entry of the Scaffold,¹ and a third for quiet standing.' So that when Lyly tells us that at 'the Theatre' it would cost two-pence to see Martin Mar-prelate brought upon the stage, he includes, perhaps, the two first payments of one penny at the gate and another at the entry of the scaffold. 'Penny-rooms at theatres' are noticed in *The Black Book*, 1604; and 'penny-galleries' (meaning probably the same part of the house), in the *Ant and the Nightingale*, by T. M., of the same date, where the author talks of the 'stinkards sitting in the penny galleries of a theatre, and yawning upon the players'.

Middleton's *Michaelmas Term*, 1607, was performed by the Children of St. Paul's (who, by Lyly, are said to have charged four-pence before 1590), and at that date the price of admission there was six-pence: the following passage is from the Induction: 'I spread myself open unto you; in cheaper terms, I salute you; for ours have but *sixpenny fees* all the year long, yet we dispatch you in two hours without demur: your suits hang not long after candles be lighted.' Hence it may be in-

¹ The author of *A second and third Blast of Retreat from Plays and Theatres*, 1580, speaks only of *scaffolds* for the accommodation of spectators, and of the 'young ruffians' and 'harlots' filling them; but Stephen Gosson, in his *Plays confuted in five Actions*, published before 1582, mentions 'rooms' for the reception of auditors; and we believe he is the earliest author that employs a term, afterwards in very common use.

ferred that at other places, at particular seasons, perhaps during Term, higher charges were sometimes made.

In the epilogue to Dekker's *Satiromastix*, Tucca addresses the audience generally as '*two-penny tenants*', having previously told them, 'I'll see you all here for your '*two-pence a-piece* again, before I'll lose your company', as if the price had been, for some reason, temporarily lowered to that rate. This play was performed before 1602, by the Lord Chamberlain's servants, and by the Children of St. Paul's: in the body of it Tucca speaks degradingly of '*penny-bench theatres*', where '*a gentleman or an honest citizen*' might sit '*with his squirrel by his side cracking nuts*'; which agrees with a passage in his *Gull's Horn-book*, 1609, where he remarks, '*your groundling and gallery commoner buys his sport for a penny*', as if the admission to the yard, where people stood, and to the gallery, where they sat, were the same price.

The discordances between authorities on this question (which, though we have cited many, might easily be multiplied) often arise, no doubt, from the different prices charged at different theatres at different periods, as well as from some confusion, which now and then prevails, as to the part of the house intended to be designated by the writer. Malone¹ produced a passage from an old collection of tales, called *Wits Fits and Fancies*, 1595, which might be taken to prove that at that date six-pence was the lowest sum received at the door of a theatre. About forty years afterwards (in the induction to his *Magnetic Lady*, 1632), Ben Jonson speaks of '*six-penny mechanics*', who filled '*the oblique caves and wedges*' of the Blackfriars; and according to Shirley's *Example*, printed in 1637, such was the sum paid for admission into the pit at the Cockpit in Drury Lane—

¹ *Shakespedre* by Boswell, iii, 73.

'Nay, he that in the parish never was
Thought fit to be of the jury, has a place
Here *on the bench for sixpence*, and does sit,
And boast himself commissioner of wit.'¹

From 'the epilogue at Blackfriars' to Mayne's *City Match*, 1639,² and from the prologue to Habington's *Queen of Arragon*,³ 1640, acted at the same theatre, it is unquestionable that 'two-shillings' were paid there for the best places: in the *Scornful Lady*, however, act iv, scene I, Fletcher makes the elder Loveless speak of 'eighteen-pence', as if that were the highest price of admission at the Blackfriars; but it is to be recollected that this comedy was performed before 1616, and, in the interval between that date and 1639, the charge might have been augmented. Malone, who produces these authorities,⁴ adds, by way of conjecture, for he does not attempt to support it by any evidence, that 'at the Blackfriars Theatre the price of the boxes was, I imagine, higher than at the Globe'. Nevertheless, he goes far to establish that the price of admission to the best rooms, or boxes (for the terms are used indifferently) in the time of Shakespeare was one shilling; and the following sentence from Sir T. Overbury's *Characters*, published in 1614, seems decisive:—'If he have but *twelve-pence* in his purse he will give it for the *best room* in a playhouse.' Dekker, in his *Gull's Horn-book*, 1609, also thus directs his hero:—'At a new play you take up the *twelve-penny room* next the stage, because the Lords and you may seem to be hail fellow well met.'⁵

¹ The phrase 'commissioner of wit' seems borrowed, with a difference, from the preface to the first folio of *Shakespeare*, 1623: 'Though you be a *magistrate of wit*, and sit on the stage at Blackfriars to arraign plays daily.'

² *Doddsley's Old Plays*, edition 1825, ix, 330.

³ *Ibid.*, ix, 339.

⁴ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 75.

⁵ The same author also mentions twelve-penny rooms in one of the

It was the practice of that day for young men of fashion, who did not object to render themselves conspicuous,¹ to sit

most curious of his tracts, and in a passage that throws other and strong light on this subject:—

‘Oh you generation of Apes without tails, made so only to make sport! You players that cry out your comedies, you that feed upon the honey of other men’s wits, and yet have nothing in your bowels but gall. . . . I spy by your colours, that you are infected with pride, looseness of life, inconstancy, ingratitude, and such like crude and undigested humours and rheumatic diseases. . . . You shall wear gay clothes, carry lofty looks, but a number of you (especially the hirelings), but with empty purses, at least twice a week. But if any of you be so provident as to phlebotomise, or buy pills to evacuate these rotten infectious posthumes, yet ye shall not escape this plague. Ye shall be glad to play three hours for two-pence to the basest stinkards in London, whose breath is stronger than garlick, and able to poison all the twelvepenny rooms.’—*Dekker’s Raven’s Almanack*, in the division headed ‘Winter’.

¹ It is, perhaps, to be gathered from the expression at the close of Davenant’s *Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, 1658, that by that date the shilling places were some of the worst; and he takes credit to himself for making ‘good provision of places at a shilling’. From Sir Aston Cockaine’s *Obstinate Lady*, printed in the preceding year, we might infer that some of the most expensive seats were eighteen-pence—

‘If perfum’d wantons do, for *eighteen-pence*,
Expect an angel, and alone go hence,
We shall be glad.’

He alludes to the visits of the fine gentlemen of the day to theatres in search of prostitutes, but perhaps those females might not then be admitted to the more expensive situations. It seems probable that Sir J. Suckling, in the following lines from one of his epistles (*Works*, p. 41, edition 1676) alludes to the highest price of admission—

‘The sweat of learned Jonson’s brain
And gentle Shakespeare’s easier strain,
A hackney coach conveys you to
In spite of all that rain can do,

upon the stage,¹ and possibly some of the prevailing confusion on the question of the price of admission may have been produced by writers, who advert to the point, adding to the price the extra sum given for a seat upon the boards. A three-legged stool, which Dekker in his *Gull's Horn-book*, 1609, dignifies by the style of 'a tripos', seems to have been usually hired on these occasions, and for this sixpence (and subsequently a shilling) was paid. Those who wished to sit upon the stage during the performance entered by the 'tiring-house; and in the agreement between Henslowe, Meade, and an actor of the name of Dawes, in 1614, the money received at the 'tiring-house and the 'tiring-house dues' are mentioned.² According to Dekker, whose account is very humorous and minute, the money was not paid for the stool until the gallant had possession of it, and was before the audience :—

And for your *eighteen-pence* you sit
The lord and judge of all fresh wit.'

It is not possible perhaps to fix the date when this epistle was written.

¹ Voltaire, in his *Diss. sur la Tragédie ancienne et moderne*, says that the same custom prevailed in France, and he complains of *la foule de spectateurs confondue sur la scène avec les acteurs, etc.*

² In time this practice, always inconvenient, became such a nuisance that it was necessary to put a stop to it; and it seems to have been thought that it could not be done by anything less than royal authority. The following order was therefore issued in February 1664-5: it is preserved in the State Paper Office—

'Whereas complaint hath been made unto us of great disorders in the Attiring-house of the Theatre of our dearest brother the Duke of York, under the government of our trusty and well-beloved Sir Wm. Davenant, by the resort of persons thither, to the hinderance of the actors and interruption of the scenes. Our will and pleasure is that no person of what quality soever do presume to enter at the door of the Attiring-house, but such only as do belong to the Company, and are employed by them. Requiring the guards attending there and all whom it may concern to see that obedience be given hereunto. And that the names, etc., *ut supra*;' dated the 25th February 1664-5. By, etc.'

‘Present yourself not on the stage, especially at a new play, until the quaking prologue hath by rubbing got colour into his cheeks, and is ready to give the trumpets their cue, that he is upon the point to enter; for then it is time, as though you were one of the properties, or that you dropped out of the hangings, to creep from behind the arras, with your tripes, or three-footed stool, in one hand, and a *teston* mounted between a forefinger and a thumb in the other; for if you should bestow your person upon the vulgar, when the belly of the house is but half full, your apparel is quite eaten up, the fashion lost, and the proportion of your body in more danger to be devoured, than if it were served up in the Counter amongst the poultry. Avoid this as you would the baston.’¹

The same writer has previously enlarged upon the advantages of sitting upon the stage, and said that ‘a good stool’ might be had for ‘sixpence’. From the induction to Marston’s *Malecontent*, 1604, we learn that at that date also the hire of a stool on the stage was no more;² but in 1611, according to the subsequent lines in Dekker’s and Middleton’s *Roaring Girl*, printed in that year, it had been raised to a shilling:—

‘What feather is ’t you ’d have, sir?
 These are most worn and most in fashion
 Amongst the beaver gallants, the stone riders,
 The private stage’s audience, the *twelve*
Penny stool gentlemen.’

Malone conjectured that the shilling stools were more commodious; but it is far more likely that the price had been raised in order to check the practice, which, to use Marston’s words in the induction to his *What you Will*, 1607, ‘wronged the general eye very much’. It might be that those gallants, who paid a shilling for their stools, had the privilege of being

¹ *Gull’s Horn-book*, 1609, sign. E. 3.

² *Dodsley’s Old Plays*, edit. 1825, iv, p. 11.

attended by their pages.¹ From verses by J. Stephens, to H. Fitzgeoffrey on his *Notes from the Blackfriars*, 1620, it appears that poets with their pages were allowed 'chairs', and free admission upon the stage; and H. Parrot, in his *Laquei Ridicolosi, Springes for Woodcocks*, 1613, informs us, that gallants sometimes exhibited themselves in the same place in the same state:

'When young Rogero goes to see a play,
His pleasure is you place him *on the stage*,
The better to demonstrate his array,
And how he sits, *attended by his page*.'

and he proceeds to state, that the chief occupation of the page was to fill his master's pipe with tobacco. Henry Hutton, in his *Folly's Anatomy*, 1619 (quoted by Malone) also mentions the attendance of the page, for the same purpose.

'The Globe to-morrow acts a pleasant play;
In hearing it consume the irksome day:
Go, take a pipe of To:² the *crowded stage*
Must needs be graced *with you and your page*.

¹ Yet some English lines, inserted in the Latin play called *Cornelianum Dolium*, 1638, *Auctore T. R.*, run thus:—

'Dear Doctor, hold me no such fool,
To pay a pound for every stool:
I can for *six-pence* have a *Page*
Get me a *stool upon the stage*,
Where I may clear my lungs with laughter.'

² The frequent custom of taking tobacco on the stage is also mentioned in some picturesque lines in *Shialetheia, or a Shadow of Truth*, 1598.

'See you him yonder who sits ore the stage,
With his tobacco-pipe now at his mouth?
It is Cornelius, that brave gallant youth,
Who is new printed to this fangled age:
He wears a jerkin cudgel'd with gold lace,
A profound slop, a hat scarce pipkin high,
For boots a pair of dagcases; his poinard on his thigh,' etc

Swear for a place with each controlling fool,
And send your hackney servant for a *stool*.'

Another important point, before touched upon, is to be collected from this quotation, not adverted to by Malone, who seems to have thought (as the majority of the passages from contemporary writers certainly shows), that the practice of part of the audience sitting on the stage was confined to private theatres. The Globe, mentioned by Hutton, was a public theatre, and yet there he says,

'The crowded stage
Must needs be graced with you and your page;'

and, in accordance with this passage, Dekker, in his *Gull's Horn-book* (in the chapter last quoted), 'How a gallant should behave himself at a Playhouse', expressly directs 'whether the gatherers of the *public* or *private* playhouse stand to receive the afternoon's rent, let our gallant, having paid it, presently advance himself up to *the throne of the stage*', adding, 'I mean not the lord's room, which is now but the stage's suburbs...but *on the very rushes where the comedy is to dance*; yea, and under the state of Cambyzes himself, must our feathered estrich, like a piece of ordnance, be planted, valiantly, because impudently, beating down the mews and hisses of the opposed rascality'.

We can hardly suppose, that such as thus made themselves offensively conspicuous on the stage would scruple to pay six-pence for the accommodation of a stool: when, therefore, Dekker, in the same chapter of the same work, speaks of such gallants as are 'spread upon the rushes', with which the boards of the stage were at that time usually strewed, it is perhaps to be understood, that they had not arrived until all the stools were engaged, and that they were therefore fain to take up with the ground.

PROPERTIES, APPAREL, AND FURNITURE.

HENSLOWE'S *Diary*, or *Account-book*, supplies much of the information we possess regarding the machinery, properties, dresses and furniture of a theatre prior to the year 1600: it is fortunate that Malone printed so liberally from this singular record, because, in passing from hand to hand, before it returned to Dulwich College, many of the 'Inventories', which he quoted, have disappeared from the volume.

It will be remarked, in the following enumeration of properties, dated 10th March 1598-9, that there are but two items which at all have the appearance of being used as movable painted scenery: the one is 'the city of Rome', and the other is the 'cloth of the Sun and Moon': the first is coupled with two artificial marchpanes to represent bread, and the other with Cupid's bow and quiver; so that had they been articles of any bulk they would probably not have been so mentioned, but would have been separately enumerated. The absence of all notice of anything else that can possibly be supposed to show that *movable painted scenery* was employed, is a strong confirmation of the opinion that it was at this date, and long afterwards, unknown at theatres to which the public were indiscriminately admitted. Such explanations as we consider necessary are subjoined between brackets, or in notes:—

'The Enventary tacken of all the properties for my Lord Admeralles men, the 10 of Marche 1598.

'Item j rocke, j cage,¹ j tombe, j Hell mought.²

¹ Perhaps used to imprison Bajazet, in *Tamburlaine*.

² A representation of 'hell-mouth' is one of the oldest properties of the stage, and it was often used in Miracle-plays and Morals. Some striking

- 'Item j tome [tomb] of Guido, j tome of Dido, j bed-steade.
- 'Item viij lances, j payer of stayers for Fayetteon.¹
- 'Item ij stepells, and j chyme of belles, and j beacon.
- 'Item j hecfor² for the playe of Faeton, the limes dead.
- 'Item j globe, and j golden scepter, iij clobes [clubs]
- 'Item ij marchepanes³ and the sittie of Rome.
- 'Item j gowlden flece, ij rackets, j baye tree.
- 'Item j wooden hatchett, j lether hatchete.
- 'Item j wooden canepie ; owld Mahemetes head.
- 'Item j lyone.skin, j beares skyne, and Faetones lymes [limbs] and Faeton charete, and Argosse head.
- 'Item Nepun [q. Neptune] forcke and garland.
- 'Item j crosers [crozier's] stafe, Kentes wodden leage [leg].
- 'Item Ierosses [q. Iris's] head and raynbowe, j littell alter.
- 'Item viij viserdes, Tamberlyne brydell,⁴ j wooden matook.
- 'Item Cupides bowe and quiver ; the clothe of the Sone and Mone.
- 'Item j bores heade, and Serberosse [Cerberus] iij heades.
- 'Item j Cadeseus [Caduseus], ij mose [moss] banckes, and snake.

representations of a 'property' of this kind may be seen in Sharp's *Dis-* ✓
sertation on the Coventry Mysteries, p. 62, etc.

¹ Perhaps used by Phaeton in mounting to his chariot (also mentioned below) in Dekker's play of *Phaeton*; which was, probably, the original foundation of *The Sun's Darling*, by Dekker and Ford.

² A *hecfor*, for the play of *Phaeton*, seems inexplicable. Possibly Malone misread the old writing : the original has been cut away.

³ In R. Brome's *City Wit*, act iv, sc. 2, Mrs. Pyannet tells Toby Sneakup, 'You have your kickshaws—your *players marchpanes*, all shew, and no meat'. A marchpane was a kind of biscuit; and these 'marchpanes', mentioned by Henslowe, were used when one of the performers had occasion to keep up the semblance of eating.

⁴ Doubtless the bridle used by the Scythian Shepherd, when, in Marlow's *Tamburlaine*, part ii, the hero enters, drawn by the kings of Trebizond and Syria, with bits in their mouths.

' Item ij fanes [fans] of feathers; Belendon stable, j tree of gowlden apelles, Tantelouse tre, jx eyorn [iron] targates.

' Item j copper targate, and xvij foyles.

' Item iiij wooden targates, j greve armer.

' Item j syne for Mother Redcap,¹ j buckler.

' Item Mercurus wings, Tasso picter,² j helmet with a dragon, j shelde with iiij lyones, j elme bowle.

' Item j chayne of dragons, j gylte speare.

' Item ij coffenes, j bulles head, and j vylter.

' Item iiij tymbrells, j dragon in Fostes.³

' Item j loyne, ij lyon heades, j great horse with his leages, j sack-bute.

' Item j whell and frame in the Sege of London.⁴

' Item j paire of rowghte [wrought] gloves.

' Item j poores [Pope's] miter.

' Item iiij Imperiall crownes; j playne crowne.

' Item j gostes [ghost's] crowne; j crown with a sone [sun].

' Item j frame for the heading in Black Jone.

' Item j black dogge.

' Item j cauderm [cauldron] for the Jew.⁵

From this list of properties it is clear, that although moveable scenery was not employed, movable properties, such as tombs, rocks, hell-mouths, steeples, beacons, and trees, were introduced upon the stage:⁶ the dragons were some of the

¹ *i.e.*, a sign for Mother Red-cap in the play of that name, by A. Munday and M. Drayton, mentioned by Henslowe, under date of December 1597.

² Perhaps a picture used in Dekker's play of *Tasso's Melancholy*.

³ In the play of *Faustus*, by Marlow.

⁴ Most likely a *well* and frame in the play of *The Siege of London*.

⁵ For the Jew in Marlow's play of *The Jew of Malta*.

⁶ In *The Antipodes*, 1640, by R. Brome, there is a ludicrous account of the contents of the 'tiring-house, and of theatrical properties. Bye-play is speaking of Peregrine—

' He has got into our tiring-house amongst us,
And ta'en a strict survey of all our properties,

'terrible monsters made of brown-paper', ridiculed by Stephen Gosson in his *Plays confuted in five Actions*. From Robert Greene's *Alphonsus* (printed in 1592), we learn that some contrivance was used, by means of pulleys or otherwise, to allow the gods and goddesses to descend from, and ascend to heaven on the stage: the direction at the commencement of *Alphonsus* runs thus:—'After you have sounded thrice, let Venus be let down from the top of the stage, and when she is down, say,' etc. The same play concludes with these words:—'*Exit* Venus. Or, if you can conveniently, let a chair come down

Our statues and our images of gods,
 Our planets and our constellations,
 Our giants, monsters, furies, beasts, and bugbears,
 Our helmets, shields and vizors, hairs and beards,
 Our pasteboard marchpanes and our wooden pies. . . .
 Whether he thought 'twas some enchanted castle,
 Or temple hung and pil'd with monuments
 Of uncouth and of various aspects,
 I dive not to his thoughts: wonder he did
 Awhile, it seem'd, but yet undaunted stood;
 When, on the sudden, with thrice knightly force,
 And thrice thrice puissant arm, he snatcheth down
 The sword and shield that I played Bevis with,
 Rusheth amongst the foresaid properties,
 Kills monster after monster, takes the Puppets
 Prisoners, knocks down the Cyclops, tumbles all
 Our jigambobs and trinkets to the wall.
 Spying at last the crown and royal robes
 I'th' upper wardrobe, next to which by chaunce
 The devil's vizors hung and their flame-painted
 Skin-coats, these he remov'd with greater fury,
 And (having cut the infernal ugly faces
 All into mammoicks) with a reverend hand
 He takes the imperial diadem, and crowns
 Himself King of the Antipodes, and believes
 He has justly gained the kingdom by his conquest.'

from the top of the stage and draw her up.' By putting it in the alternative, we may see that at some theatres it could not be done 'conveniently'. In a still older play, though not printed until 1599, *The History of Sir Clyomon and Clamydes*, Providence is personified, and descends to, and ascends from the stage in a similar manner: the direction before she comes down is merely 'Descend Providence', and when she returns to heaven, it is 'Ascend'. The *Valiant Welchman*, by R. A., 1615, opens with an induction by Fortune, and when she enters the stage direction is, 'Fortune descends down from Heaven to the stage'. Nothing is said respecting her re-ascent, and perhaps even at that date it could not be done 'conveniently'.

In the folio MS. of *Six Plays*, etc., by William Percy, mentioned in a former part of this work, the properties necessary for the exhibition of each are inserted in the commencement. For *The Cuck-queans Errant and Cuckolds Errant*, it was necessary that the stage should represent, in different acts, Harwich, Colchester, and Maldon, which it was made to do at once for the convenience of the performance, the author relying wholly upon the imagination of his auditory. The places and 'properties' are there thus enumerated—

'Harwich: in the middle of the stage Colchester, with image of Tarlton, signe and ghirlond: under him also the Raungers Lodge. Maldon: a ladder of roapes trussd up neare Harwich; highest and aloft the Title, the Cuckqueanes and Cuckolds Errants. A long fourme.'

These were all that were necessary, and sometimes even such as these might be dispensed with, as appears by the following singular note to 'the Properties' for the representation of another of Percy's pieces, called *A Fairy Pastoral, or the Forest Elves*.

'Now if so be, that the properties of any of these that be outward

will not serve the turne, by reason of concurse of the people on the stage, then you may omitt the sayd properties, which be outward, and supplye their places with their nuncupations onely, in text letters.'

Such was the simplicity of our old stage, that even if nothing like a place or house could be represented to the eyes of the spectators, the deficiency might be supplied by writing the name of the property on a board. Most of Percy's plays were intended to be performed by the Children of Paul's, and alterations are frequently inserted in case the representation should be made by more regular actors.

Most of Henslowe's Inventories were taken on the 10th of March 1598-9, perhaps in anticipation of the removal of the Lord Admiral's players from the Curtain and Rose to the Fortune Theatre, the project for building which seems, about that date, to have been entertained by Henslowe and Edward Alleyn. The first inventory quoted by Malone appears to be of 'goods gone and lost', among which 'Long-shanks suit', 'Harry the Fifth's doublet' and his 'velvet gowne', only require notice. It is succeeded by the following.

'The Enventary of the Clownes Sewtes, and Hermettes Sewtes, with dievers other sewtes, as followeth, 1598, the 10 of March.

'Item j senetores gowne, j hooode, and 5 senetores capes.

'Item j sewtte for Nepton, Fierdrackes [fire-drakes] sewtes for Dobe.

'Item iiij genesareyes [Janissaries] gownes, and iiij torchberers sewtes.

'Item iij payer of red strasers, and iij fares [q. Pharaoh's] gowne of buckrome.

'Item iiij Herwodes [q. Herald's] cottes, and iij sogers cottes, and j green gown for Maryan.

'Item vj grene cottes for Roben Hooode, and iiij knaves sewtes.

'Item ij payer of grene hosse, and Andersones sewte, j whitt shepen clocke [cloak].

'Item ij rosset cottes, and j blacke frese cotte, and iij prestes cottes.

'Item ij whitt shepherdes cottes, and ij Danes sewtes, and j payer of Danes hosse.

'Item the Mores lymes,¹ and Hercolles [Hercules?] lymes, and Will Sommers sewtte.

'Item ij Orlates sewtes, hates and gorgetts, and vij anteckes cootes.

'Item Cathemer sewte, j payer of cloth whitte stockens, iij Turckes hedes.

'Item iij freyers gownes and iij hoodes to them, and j foolles coate cape and babell [bawble] and branhowlttes [Brenoralt's] bodeys [bodice] and merlen [Merlin's] gowne and cape.

'Item ij blacke saye gownes, and ij cotton gownes, and j rede saye gowne.

'Item j mawe gowne of calleco for the quene² and j carnowll [cardinal's] hatte.

'Item j rede sewt of cloth for pyge³ layed with whitt lace.

'Item v payer of hosse for the clowne, and v gerkenes for them.

'Item iij payer of canvas hosse for asane, ij payer of black strocers.

'Item j yelow leather dublett for a clowne, j Whittcomes dublett poke.

'Item Eves bodeyes [bodice], j pedante trusser, and iij donnes hattes.

'Item j payer of yelow cotton sleves, j gostes sewte, and j gostes bodeyes.

¹ 'I suspect (says Malone) these were the limbs of Aaron the Moor, in *Titus Andronicus*, who, in the original play, was probably tortured on the stage.' *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 309.

² There was a play called *The Maw* among those enumerated by Henslowe; perhaps this was a gown for the queen in that performance.

³ Possibly for 'pyge' we ought to read Page, the hero of the play of *Page of Plymouth*, an entry which Malone could not understand. In the plot of *Frederick and Basilea*, an actor, who is called familiarly *Pig*, played a part, and this might be a dress for him. Malone thought that 'pyge' meant *Psyche*—not a very happy conjecture.

'Item xviii copes and hattes, Verones sonnes hosse.

'Item iij trumpettes and a drum, and a trebel viall, a basse viall, a bandore, a sytteren [gittern], j anshente [ancient], j white hatte.

'Item j hatte for Robin Hoode, j hobbihorse.

'Item v shertes, and j surpelowes [surplices], iiij ferdingalles [farthingales].

'Item vj head tiers, j fane, iiij rebatos, ij gyrketruses.

'Item j long sorde.'

This is succeeded by another inventory, of the same date, of apparel for the same company, 'left above in the tire-house, in the chest'; which would show that, at the theatre referred to, the [at]tire-house was up stairs, and not on a level with the stage. The items are these:—

'Item my lord Caffes [q. Caiphas] gercken and his hoosse.

'Item j payer of hosse for the Dowlfen [Dauphin].

'Item j murey lether gyrcken, and j white lether gerckin.

'Item j black leather gearken, and Nabesathe sewte.

'Item j payer of hosse, and a gercken for Valteger.

'Item ij leather anteckes cottes with basses for Fayetteon.

'Item j payer of bodeyes for Alles [Alice] Pearce.'

On the 13th March 1598, Henslowe took a farther 'inventory of all the aparell of the Lord Admeralle's men', and by that date he had found 'Longshanks suit', and 'Harry the Fifth's doublet' and 'velvet gown' (which, three days before, he had entered as 'gone and lost'), for they are included in the items. It is needless to subjoin the whole list, as many of the obscure entries furnish not the slightest information: the following are the principal items:—

'Item j payer of white saten Venesons cut with coper lace.

'Item j Mores cotte.

'Item Pyges damask gowne.

'Item j harcoller [hair colour] tafitie sewte of pygges.

'Item j white tafitie sewte of pygges.

- ' Item Vartemar sewtte.
- ' Item j payer of French hosse, cloth of gowld.
- ' Item Tamberlynnes cotte with copper lace.
- ' Item Labesia's clocke with gowld buttenes.
- ' Item Valteger robe of rich tafitie.
- ' Item Junoes cotte.
- ' Item j hode for the wech [witch].
- ' Item j cloth clocke of russete with copper lace, called Guydoes-clocke.
- ' Item Dobes cotte of cloth of sylver.
- ' Item Perowes sewt, which Wm. Sley were.¹
- ' Item Tamberlanes breches of crymson vellvet.
- ' Item j Faeytone sewte.
- ' Item Roben Hoodes sewtte.
- ' Item j redd Spanes, [q. Spanish] dublet styched.
- ' Item Tasoes Robe.
- ' Item Dides [q. Dido's] robe.
- ' Item the fryers trusse in Roben Hoode.
- ' Item j littell gacket for Pygge.
- ' Item j womanes gown of cloth of gowld.
- ' Item Harye the v velvet gowne.
- ' Item j Longeshankes seute.
- ' Item Harye the v satten dublet, layd with gowld lace.
- ' Item j Spanes gearcken layd with sylver lace.
- ' Item j freyers gowne of graye.'

The value of none of these dresses is stated by Henslowe ; but this deficiency is in part supplied by another list of apparel, where he enters the sum paid for each article opposite to it. It is entitled :—

' A Note of all such goodes as I have bought for the Company of my Lord Admirall's men, sence the 3 Aprell 1598.

' Bowght a damaske casock garded with velvett . . . o 18 o

¹ Worn by William Sly, the comic actor.

' Bowght a payer of pane drownd hosse of cloth, whiped with sylk, drawne out with tafitie.	}	o	8	o
' Bowght j payer of long black wollen stockens.				
' Bowght j black satten dublett.	}	4	14	o
' Bowght j payer of rownd howsse paned of vellevet.				
' Bowght a robe for to goo invisibell.	}	3	10	o
' Bowght a gown for Nembia.				
' Bowght a dublett of whitt satten layd thicke with gowld lace, and a payer of rowne pandes hosse of cloth of sylver, the panes laid with gold lace.	}	7	o	o
' Bowght of my sonne v sewtes.				
' Bowght of my sonne iiij sewtes.		20	o	o
		17	o	o

His 'son' meant Edward Alleyn, who, in April 1598, nearly a year before the date of the preceding Inventories of March 1598-9, seems to have had an interest separate from that of his step-father. The 'robe for to go invisible' is a remarkable item, and Malone's very probable conjecture is, that it was a cloak, the wearer of which was supposed to be invisible to the rest of the performers on the stage at the same time. These items show decisively the very expensive nature of the wardrobe of a theatre even at that early date.

The internal furniture of a theatre, beyond the properties already mentioned, consisted merely of the benches in the boxes, galleries, and pit (excepting in what were called 'public theatres', where the pit was termed the yard, in which the spectators stood), the curtains in front of the stage, and the traverses occasionally drawn and undrawn in the rear of it. Until after the Restoration, these curtains ran upon a rod, and opened in the centre. They were usually composed of old arras and worsted; but it appears that, in 1640, they were of silk even at the Red Bull theatre, which by no means stood high in public estimation.

The balcony at the back of the stage was also, sometimes,

provided with curtains. 'It appears (says Malone¹) from the stage-directions given in the *Spanish Tragedy*, that when a play was exhibited within a play (if I may so express myself), as is the case in that piece and in *Hamlet*, the court or audience before whom the interlude was performed sat in the balcony, or upper stage, already described; and a curtain or traverse being hung across the stage *for the nonce*, the performers entered between that curtain and the general audience; and, on its being drawn, began their piece, addressing themselves to the balcony, and regardless of the spectators in the theatre, to whom their backs must have been turned during the whole of the performance.' Malone may have been right in this supposition, but unquestionably the authority he cites does not bear him out, as the only stage-direction in this part of the *Spanish Tragedy* (act iv) is, 'He (*i.e.*, Hieronimo) knocks up the curtain'; but what curtain he knocks up is not stated, nor can we gather it from the context. We have met with no authority to confirm or contradict Malone's opinion on this point: it may be doubted.

| The stage was furnished with trap-doors. Lupton's *All for Money*, 1578, establishes this fact: Money there 'vomits forth' Pleasure, and the stage-direction is, 'Here with some fine conveyance Pleasure shall appear from beneath'; but it is doubtful whether the author meant that he was to rise from beneath the stage. In Lodge's and Greene's *Looking-Glass for London and England*, 1594, 'the Magi with their rods beat the ground, and from under the same riseth a brave arbour', which must have come up through a large trap-door: in the same play 'a flame of fire appeareth from beneath, and Radagon is swallowed'. In the opening of Ben Jonson's *Poetaster* (1601) Envy 'arises in the midst of the stage'; and in Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (1602) Balurdo enters 'from

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 108.

under the stage'. The cauldron in *Macbeth* must have 'sunk' through a trap-door; and, by some contrivance of this sort, in the *Valiant Welshman* (1615), the Fairy Queen 'falls down under the stage'; and Morion, following her, 'falls into a ditch'.

The stools, which were hired and used by some of the auditory for sitting on the stage, were also part of the furniture of the theatre. The stage was, as before observed, commonly strewn with rushes, but on extraordinary occasions it was matted, as was the case when the Globe was burnt down, on the 29th June 1613, according to the letter of Sir Henry Wotton, the play being upon the story of King Henry VIII, got up with peculiar care and cost.

The external furniture of a playhouse consisted merely of the sign, which was exposed on some obvious part of the building, and the flag, which was hoisted at the top of it to give distant notice of the performances: 'Each playhouse (says W. Parkes) advanceth his flag in the air, whither quickly, at the waving thereof, are summoned whole troops of men, women, and children.'¹ When the performance was concluded, the flag was removed; and Plain-dealing, in Dekker's *Whore of Babylon*, 1607, observes, 'She takes down the flag; belike the play is done.' Flags were used for this purpose at the earliest date; and John Field, in his *Godly Exhortation* on the accident at Paris Garden, remarks, speaking of the attractiveness of theatres, etc.:—'Those flags of defiance against God, and trumpets that are blown to gather together such company, will sooner prevail to fill those places, than the preaching of the holy word of God.'

¹ *Curtain-Drawer of the World*, 1612, p. 47.

SCENERY IN OLD THEATRES.

THE question at what time, and to what extent, scenery, as we now use and understand the term, was employed in our old theatres, was disputed by Malone and Steevens; the first contending that it was unknown, and the last that it was well known. Malone is too strict in his definition of a scene, when he states that it means 'a painting in perspective on a cloth, fastened to a wooden frame or roller';¹ because, whether it were or were not painted 'on a cloth', and whether it were not upon 'a wooden frame or roller', could be of no consequence, provided it was a painting in perspective, and movable with the change of place represented in the play.

We decidedly concur with Malone in the general conclusion, that painted movable scenery was unknown on our early stage; and it is a fortunate circumstance for the poetry of our old plays that it was so: the imagination of the auditor only was appealed to, and we owe to the absence of painted canvas many of the finest descriptive passages in Shakespeare, his contemporaries, and immediate followers. *The introduction of scenery, we apprehend, gives the date to the commencement of the decline of our dramatic poetry.*

The very existence of such passages (and we need not pause to establish how numerous they are) is almost sufficient to show, without the aid of direct evidence, that our old dramatists were not impeded by uncouth representations; and they luxuriated in passages descriptive of natural or artificial beauty, because they knew that their auditors would have nothing before their eyes to contradict the poetry: the hangings of the stage made little pretension to be anything but coverings for the walls, and the notion of the place repre-

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 86.

sented was taken from what was written by the poet, not from what was attempted by the painter.

In another important respect it is fortunate that no such thing as movable scenery existed. It is the great feature of our romantic drama, that it disregards the unities of time and place; it sets at nought both the probable and the possible; and if our old poets had been obliged to confine themselves merely to the changes that could, at that early date, have been exhibited by the removal of painted canvas or boarding, we should have lost much of that boundless diversity of situation and character allowed by this happy defiance of all restraint. Malone and Steevens, however, do not at all rest upon, nor even advert to, any general reasoning upon the point, but argue upon particular and sometimes ambiguous expressions. Fleckno, in his *Short Discourse of the Stage*, 1664, by which date movable scenery had been introduced, seems to have anticipated this contested point, when he says, we think decisively:—‘Now for the difference betwixt *our* theatres, and those of *former times*; they were but plain and simple, with *no other scenes* nor decorations of the stages, but only old tapestry, and the stage strewn with rushes.’¹ In one of our oldest extant historical plays, *Selimus Emperor of the Turks*, published in 1594, there is a remarkable stage-direction, which seems at once to establish the point at issue: the hero is conveying the dead body of his father in a solemn funeral procession to the temple of Mahomet, and with great simplicity the audience is told, ‘*Suppose the Temple*

¹ Fleckno spoke of his own knowledge, and probably the same may be said of J. Corey, who has the following lines in the prologue to his *Generous Enemies*, 1672:—

‘Your aged fathers came to plays for wit,
And sat knee-deep in nutshells in the pit:
Coarse hangings then, *instead of scenes*, were worn,
And Kidderminster did the stage adorn.’

of *Mahomet*'—an injunction quite needless if there had existed the means of representing it to the eyes of the spectators. It is to be observed also, that this piece was performed by the Queen's players, who would certainly have had those means, had they been possessed by any other company. In the fifth scene of act i of the old play of *Cæsar and Pompey*, 1607, the stage is supposed a ship, and the actors on board of it ; so also in *Pericles*, *The Tempest*, and in many other dramas.

The simplicity of the old stage in this respect, may also be clearly shown by a reference to R. Greene's *Pinner of Wakefield*, printed in 1599, where Jenkin is struck by the shoemaker in the street : Jenkin challenges him to come to the town's-end to fight it out ; and, after some farther parley, the professor of 'the gentle craft' reminds Jenkin of his challenge :—

'Come, sir ; will you come to the town's-end now ?

Jenkin.—Aye, Sir : come.'

and in the very next line he adds,

'Now we are at the town's-end.—What say you now ?'

so that two or three steps on the stage were supposed to convey them to the end of the town, and the audience was duly informed that they had arrived there. This and the preceding proofs are not noticed by Malone, but he aptly quotes the following stage-direction from the old copies of *Romeo and Juliet* :—'They march about the stage, and serving men come forth with their napkins', upon which he remarks :¹ —'Romeo, Mercutio, etc., with their torch-bearers and attendants, are the persons who march about the stage. They are in the street on their way to Capulet's house, where a masquerade is given ; but Capulet's servants, who come forth with their napkins, are supposed to be in a hall or saloon of their master's house : yet both the masquers *without*, and the servants

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 90.

within, appear on the same spot.' Ben Jonson, in the address 'to the Reader', before his *New Inn*, 1629, expressly mentions the tapestry spoken of by Fleckno, under the words 'Arras cloths', and he tells us farther that they represented 'faces in the hangings'. To the same effect it would be easy to accumulate authorities.¹

While we concur with Malone, that movable scenery was unknown in our old theatres, we admit with Steevens, that contrivances were adopted to represent the walls of a town, or perhaps a tower. In the folio Shakespeare of 1623, which was printed from acting copies, we often meet with stage-directions warranting such a conclusion : as in *King John*, 'Enter a Citizen upon the walls'—'Enter Arthur on the walls'; and in *Henry VI*, part i, 'Enter Pucelle on the top of a tower'—'Enter Lord Scales upon the tower, walking.' Nevertheless, it is impossible to decide, even here, how far the balcony at the back of the stage might not be put in requisition, both for wall and tower. Perhaps it sometimes answered the purpose of a window to an upper chamber ; and when in *Englishmen for my Money* (written in 1598, though not published until 1616), three merry damsels mock an old lover, by pretending to draw him up in a basket to their bed-room, and leave him suspended in the air, it seems very probable that the balcony was employed. Such, however, could not be the case in Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*, played in 1616, for there it was necessary to represent two houses, each with a window : in act ii, scene 2, Wittipol courts Mrs. Fitzdottrell, and in the margin of the old copy we are informed, 'this scene is acted at two windows, as out of two contiguous buildings'.

¹ When the tapestry decayed, its defects seem to have been supplied by paint ; or, perhaps, pictures were hung over it to conceal its defects. In the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, Ben Jonson makes one of the Children of the Chapel say, 'I am none of your fresh pictures, that use to beautify the decayed old arras.'

In the performances at Court, at a very early date, we meet with accounts which prove that painted scenes, though perhaps not movable, were employed, and they are noticed with great particularity in the privy seal for the payment of the expenses of the Revels as early as 1568: Strato's House, Dobbin's House, and Orestes' House, are mentioned as having been provided and painted, together with a view of Rome, of Scotland (in what manner a whole country was represented is not stated), and the Palace of Prosperity. At a later date, we meet with entries of a similar kind: in the accounts of the Revels in 1571-2, William Lyzard was paid for 'paynting the houses that served for the playes and players'; and John Izarde, for a 'device for counterfeiting thunder and lightning'. In the next year, Lady Peace was lodged in 'a castle', and Apollo and the Muses were represented on a mount with a fountain, while the liberation of Andromeda was exhibited in 'a picture'. In 1573-4, a charge is made for pins used in hanging 'painted cloths'; and in the year following, a contrivance was adopted for exhibiting the sun breaking through a cloud, besides 'houses for the players'. In 1576, we meet with an item which nearly approaches Malone's definition of a scene, 'a painted cloth and two frames', if the frames were used for stretching the canvas. In 1578, a burning mountain was introduced; and in 1580, William Lyzarde was paid for painting 'seven cities, one country-house, one battlement, a mount, and two great cloths'. Cities and battlements were also employed for the plays in 1582; and in the Revels' accounts of 1584, 'great cloths', and 'battlements of canvas', a well and a mount, are mentioned.

It nowhere appears, however, that these painted cloths, representing cities, battlements, etc., were removable during the performance so as to represent a change of place; and we are inclined to think that Malone was right, when he said

that 'the first notice of anything like movable scenes being used in England, is in the narrative of the entertainment given to King James at Oxford, in August 1605, when three plays were performed in the Hall of Christ Church'.¹

The earliest authority yet discovered for adapting the term 'scene' to the painted representations at the back of the performers, is Dr. Barten Haliday, in his comedy called *Technogamia*, the first edition of which was printed in 1610 : in a marginal note to the prologue we read as follows:—'Here the upper part of the *scene* opened, when straight appeared an Heaven and all the pure arts sitting on two semicircular benches, one above another : who sate thus till the rest of the prologue was spoken, which being ended, they descended in order within the *scene*, while the music played.' Lord Bacon, in his *Essay Of Masques and Triumphs*, speaks distinctly of 'alterations of scenes':—'It is true (he observes), the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly, and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure, for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same object'; and he adds, 'let the scenes abound with light, specially coloured and varied'. Here he employs the word as we now use it ; but it is to be remarked that this essay was not inserted in the volume in 1597, nor until the edition of 1612.

At this period, and considerably afterwards, Inigo Jones was engaged by the Court and Universities in getting up exhibitions of the sort, and his skill and invention are highly and justly extolled by many of his contemporaries. In 1636, during the performance at Court of Heywood's *Love's Mistress* (as we are informed by the poet, who willingly acknowledges his obligation), Inigo Jones 'changed the stage' to 'every act, and almost to every scene'.

Cartwright's *Royal Slave* was presented before the King

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 81.

and Queen at Oxford, in August 1636, and the changes of the scenes which were then produced by I. Jones were called 'appearances': they were eight in number, one to each act, and three of them were repeated in the three last scenes of the play, so that the shiftings in that act must have been more rapid than usual. Whether they were effected by sliding frames covered with canvas, or by falling curtains, now technically called 'drops', is not stated; but in the last instance, the artist contrived to eclipse the sun, and to dash out the fire of an altar by a deluge of rain.

Besides the curtain in front of the stage, which concealed it from the spectators until it was drawn on each side upon a rod, there were other curtains at the back of the stage, called traverses, which served, when drawn, to make another and an inner apartment, when such was required by the business of the play. They had this name at a very early date: one of the stage directions in the rare interlude of *Queen Hester*, 1561, is this: 'Here the Kynge entryth *the travers*, and Aman goeth out'; and another, 'Here the kynge entreth *the traverse*, and Hardy-dardy entreth the place.' In the old MS. play of *Sir Thomas More*, written prior to 1590, we find the following stage direction referring to the use of the traverse: 'An arras is drawne, and behinde it (as in Sessions) sit the Lord Maior, Justice Suresbie, and other Justices, Sherife More, and the other Sherife sitting by.' Similar directions in Shakespeare's plays, and in those of other dramatists, are not unfrequent.

One of the earliest notices of the use of anything beyond arras or tapestry on the public stage is to be found in the prologue to R. Brome's *Court Beggar*, acted in 1632, where the poet is speaking in his own person:

'No *gaudy scene*

Shall give instructions what the plot doth mean;'

but even here it is doubtful whether the writer refers to the

gaudiness of a painted scene, which might 'give instructions' as to the place where the action was laid. The same dramatist's *City Wit* was written before 1637 (because he tells us in the prologue that it had been approved by Ben Jonson), and there the old simplicity was observed: the Widow Tryman is discovered apparently at the point of death, making her will, and at the end of the scene we meet with the following direction:—'they put in the bed and withdraw all'. In Middleton's *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, 1630, 'a bed is thrust out upon the stage, Alwit's wife in it', the lady having been just delivered of a child; and in Davenport's *New Trick to Cheat the Devil*, we read 'enter Anne in bed', meaning, that a bed was 'thrust out upon the stage' between the traverse curtains, with the lady in it. It is clear, therefore, that at this date they had no means, by moveable scenes, of changing the appearance of the place represented.

Tuke's *Adventures of five Hours* was not produced until after the Restoration: it was acted at the Duke of York's Theatre, and here we find indubitable evidence of changes of scenery, and of some facility in the management of it. In one place we are told, 'the scene changes to a garden', and, just afterwards, 'the rising moon appears in the scene'. 'The scene changes' is the constant expression employed, and the commencement of act v must have been played while the stage represented two separate rooms.

This improvement (if such it were) had been introduced, previous to the return of Charles II, in Sir W. Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes*, consisting of songs and recitative, explained by painted scenery. It was brought out in 1656, about eight years after the closing of the theatres, and with a view to evade the ordinance of 1647. This point may be fitly concluded from the unequivocal language of Wright, the author of *Historia Histrionica*, who, though he wrote only in 1699,

was well acquainted with the state of the stage more than half a century before: he tells us, that 'presently after the Restoration, the King's players acted publicly at the Red Bull for some time, and removed to a new-built playhouse in Vere Street, by Clare Market: there they continued for a year or two, and then removed to the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, where they first made use of scenes, which had been a little before introduced upon the public stage by Sir William Davenant'.

In order to indicate the place where the action of a play was laid, a very simple expedient was resorted to in the earlier period of our drama: a board was hung up in an obvious situation, with the name of the place written upon it—'What child is there' (asks Sir P. Sidney, in his *Apology of Poetry*, written about 1583), 'that coming to a play, and seeing Thebes written in great letters on an old door, doth believe that it is Thebes?' Malone, who quotes this passage, follows it up by observing, that 'the want of scenery seems to have been supplied by the simple expedient of writing the names of the different places where the scene was laid in the progress of the play, which were disposed in such a manner as to be visible to the audience', but he produces no evidence upon this point. The practice of exposing to the eyes of the audience, in the opening of a play, where the action was laid, continued down to the time of Davenant, and it is remarkably proved by the very first piece in which scenery was employed: the introduction to his *Siege of Rhodes* has these words describing the appearance of the stage—'In the middle of the frieze was a compartment wherein was written—*Rhodes*.' Sometimes the fact appears to have been communicated in the prologue, and at others it was formally announced by one of the actors: when old Hieronimo, in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, is about to present his play within a play to the King and Court, he exclaims—'Our scene is Rhodes!'

It was not only the custom to exhibit to the eyes of the audience the place of action, but the title of the play: one of the oldest instances of the kind is to be found in the piece last quoted, which was written about 1588. In the same part of it in which old Hieronimo states 'Our scene is Rhodes', he tells Bathazar, who was assisting in preparations for the play, 'Hang up the title!' which Malone misprints 'Hang up the *tilt*', and proceeds to reason from his own error, as to the method in which plays within plays were then represented: he hastily took *tilt* to be another name for a curtain.¹ In *Wily Beguiled*, printed in 1606, but written and acted considerably earlier, the Prologue-speaker asks an actor what the play is to be, and the answer is, 'Sir, you may look upon the title.' Other proofs are to be found in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*, *The Devil is an Ass*, *Magnetic Lady*, and *Cynthia's Revels*. Sometimes the speaker of the prologue carried the title of the play in his hand: thus in R. Brome's *City Wit*, Sarpego (who delivers the prologue), in reference to the play having been written before the death of Jonson, observes—

'Some in this round may have both seen't and heard,
Ere I, *that bear its title*, wore a beard.'

In the same author's *Antipodes*, a play within a play is performed, and Quailpipe, who is entrusted with the prologue, says, alluding to the title hung up in the sight of the audience—

'Our far fetch'd title, over lands and seas,
Offers unto your view *The Antipodes*.'

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 108.

HOUR AND DURATION OF PERFORMANCE.— JIGS.

IN the time of Shakespeare, plays were performed in London only once a day : Taylor (the water-poet), in his *Watermen's Suit concerning Players*, 1613, says :—'But my love unto them is such, that whereas they do play *but once a day*, I could be content they should play twice or thrice a day.'

Malone asserts that the performances at theatres 'began at one o'clock in the afternoon'; but he was certainly mistaken, and the only authority he adduced by no means established his position.¹ The usual time for visiting the theatre was after dinner, but Davenant states, in the prologue to his *Unfortunate Lovers*, produced in 1638, that of old so eager were the spectators to secure good places, that they sometimes came without their dinners :

'For they to theatres were pleas'd to come,
Ere they had dined, to take up the best room.'

The usual hour of dining, in the city at least, at this period, was twelve o'clock. In Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money*, Pisaro, the Portugal merchant, goes to the Exchange at about eleven, and comes home to dinner at noon. There might then, as now, sometimes be an affectation of late dining, and Dekker, in his *Gull's Horn-book*, 1609, represents his gay hero as dining at two o'clock, and afterwards visiting the theatre. In fact the performance of plays then began at three o'clock,² as appears

¹ *Epigrams*, by J. D. and C. M., printed about 1598.

² Excepting at St. Paul's, where the performances commenced at four o'clock, after prayers, and concluded before six, when the gates were shut. This fact appears from a note appended to a play called *Necromantes*, by W. Percy, in the curious folio MS. from which we have already more than once quoted. ['A note

by the following proclamation made by an actor, in *Histrionastix*, 1610, played very shortly after, if not before, the death of Elizabeth.

‘ All they that can sing and say,
Come to the Town-house, and see a play :
At three a’ clock it shall begin.’

In the articles between Henslowe and Meade, and Dawes the player, in 1614, it is expressly stipulated that he shall be ready ‘ apparelled to begin the play at the hour of *three o’clock* in the afternoon’ ; which, without farther evidence, seems quite decisive.¹

In the prologue to Davenant’s *Unfortunate Lovers*, it is stated in terms, that ‘ two short hours’ would complete the whole representation, which accords entirely with what is said by Shakespeare, at an earlier date, in the prologue to *Romeo and Juliet*, where he speaks of the ‘ *two hours* traffic of our stage’; and in the prologue to *Henry VIII*, where he states that the spectators may

‘ See away their shilling
In *two short hours.*’

‘ A note to the Master of Children of Powles.

‘ Memorandum, that if any of the fine and formost of these Pastorals and Comœdies conteyned in this volume, shall but overreach in length (the children not to begin before foure, after prayers, and the gates of Powles shutting at six) the tyme of supper, that then in tyme and place convenient, you do let passe some of the songs, and make the consort the shorter; for I suppose these plaies be somewhat too long for that place. Howsoever, on your own experience, and at your best direction, be it. Farewell to you all.’

¹ Thomas Cranley, in his *Amanda*, 1635, describing the manner in which prostitutes occupied their time, day after day, says,

‘ At *three* unto the playhouse back again,
To be acquainted with some other men.’

'No writer that I have met with (says Malone) intimates that in the time of Shakespeare it was customary to exhibit more than a single dramatic piece on one day': he obviously here means to exclude from consideration what were termed 'jigs', although they might fairly be called 'dramatic pieces'; and there is reason to think that he was correct in his conclusion. There is, however, one dramatist, who mentions the performance of what would seem to be two distinct 'dramatic pieces'. In Nathaniel Field's *Amends for Ladies*, acted before 1611, Lord Proudly asks Lord Feesimple, 'What d'ye this afternoon?' and Lord Feesimple answers; 'Faith, I have a great mind to see *Long Meg* and *The Ship*, at the Fortune.' Malone was probably not aware of the existence of this passage, which certainly speaks of two different productions. It is known from Henslowe's *Account-book*, that *Long Meg of Westminster* was one of the plays acted by his company in 1594: but possibly at the time Field wrote it was found necessary to add something to it, by way of additional attraction. We nowhere find any mention of a play called *The Ship*, and it might be only 'a jig', or naval dance, such as it was not unusual to append to plays, 'the more cheerfully to dismiss the spectators'.¹

That a 'jig' was a common conclusion to the amusements at the theatre may be easily established. In *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, 1601, one of the characters remarks, 'As the jig is called for after the play is done, even so let Monsieur go;' whence we may infer, perhaps, that it was not advertised in the bills, nor performed, unless it were 'called for' by the audience. In *Every Man out of his Humour* (acted in 1599),

¹ This is the expression of Dr. Barten Haliday, in the Illustrations to his translation of *Juvenal*, p. 55. Speaking of the Roman plays, he says that they had an *Exodium*, 'after the nature of a jig, after a play, the more cheerfully to dismiss the spectators'.

Ben Jonson says, 'it's a project, a designment of his own, a thing studied and rehears'd as ordinarily at his coming from hawking or hunting, as a jig after a play'. These supplemental performances probably originated with, and certainly depended almost solely upon, the actors who used to perform the parts of clowns and fools in regular dramatic representations. Richard Tarleton acquired great celebrity in them; and, from a sentence in the tract called *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*, it should seem that they lasted for an hour: the author says that the pamphlet is 'only such a jest as his [Tarleton's] jig, fit for gentlemen to laugh at *an hour*'. The author of *Laquei Ridiculosi, or Springes for Woodcocks*, 1613, couples the excellent comedy of Greene's *Tu Quoque*, with a celebrated and popular jig called *Garlick*.¹

It is not easy to ascertain what was the precise nature of a 'jig', and how far and in what respect it differed from a 'merri-ment'. We have no extant printed specimen of any such performance, although, probably, several of the most popular were published.² It seems to have been a ludicrous composition in rhyme, sung, or said, by the clown, and accompanied by dancing and playing upon the pipe and tabor.

Nash, in his *Pierce Penniless*, 1592, refers to this species of entertainment in gingling verse, when he says—

'Like the quaint comedians of our time,
That, *when the play is done*, do fall to *rhyme*.'

Fletcher bears similar testimony in the prologue to the *Fair Maid of the Inn* (licensed in 1626)—

¹ It is also mentioned in *The Hog hath lost his Pearl*, 1614; and as follows by Taylor, in his *Cast over the Water*:—

'And for his action, he eclipseth quite
The *Fig of Garlick*, or the Punk's delight.'

² In 1595, the Stationers' *Registers* exhibit entries of two: viz., Phillips's *Fig of the Slippers*, and Kempe's *Fig of the Kitchen-stuff Woman*.

‘A jig shall be clapp’d up, and every *rhyme*
Prais’d and applauded by a clamorous chime.’¹

That there was singing in them is proved by Henry Chettle, in *Kind-heart's Dream*, 1592, where he makes coney-catchers complain that the players ‘spoiled their trade’ by ‘singing jigs’ in which thieves were exposed. Gosson, in his *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, talks of vaulting, tumbling, *dancing of jigs*, galliards, etc., because dancing was introduced into them for greater delight and variety. The old pictures of Tarleton represented him with his tabor; and in his *News from Purgatory* occurs the following passage :—‘At last, because they knew I was a boon companion, they appointed that I should sit and *play jigs* all day upon my tabor to the ghosts without ceasing, which has brought me into such use, that I now play far better than when I was alive.’

When Shirley wrote his *Changes* (printed in 1632), jigs at the ends of plays had been exploded at Salisbury Court Theatre, and perhaps at other private playhouses; but he complains that, instead of a jig, the audiences were seldom satisfied without a dance in the middle of the piece.

Goffe's *Careless Shepherdess* was not printed until 1656, but it had been acted many years before at the same house as Shirley's *Changes*, and at that date, as appears by the induction, jigs were still represented at the two popular theatres—the Fortune and the Red Bull. Some gigs must have been of considerable length, for in *A Pill to Purge Melancholy* (a tract without date, but published about 1600), ‘six-penny jigs’ are mentioned, which at that time, and long afterwards, was the price of a whole printed play. ‘Half-penny jigs’ are also spoken of, which perhaps were merely ballads, like that in *A Quest of*

¹ Malone, in a note on *Hamlet* (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, vii, 348) misquotes these lines as from *Love's Pilgrimage*.

Enquiry, etc., gathered by Sir Oliver Oatmeal', 1595, where a song is called, 'A jig for the ballad-mongers'.¹

PLAY-BILLS.—REHEARSALS.—FIRST PERFORMANCES.—PRINTED PLAYS.—PAMPHLETS.—DEDICATIONS.

IN the earlier period of the stage, before the invention of printing, the announcement of the intention to exhibit theatrical performances was made by sound of trumpet, by certain persons called Vexillators, on some day preceding the performance. The use of bills, giving information of the time, place, and nature of the representation of plays is, however, of considerable antiquity.

The practice was common prior to the year 1563, for Strype, in his *Life of Grindall*,² stating the objections of the Archbishop to dramatic amusements, mentions that he represented to the Queen's Secretary, that the players 'did then daily, but especially on the holidays, *set up their bills*, inviting to plays'. At a subsequent date, John Northbrook, in his *Treatise* against theatrical performances, printed about 1579, supplies similar evidence. He says,—'They use to set up their bills upon posts some certain days before, to admonish people to make resort to their theatres'; and eight years afterwards the Court of Assistants of the Stationers' Company gave to John Charlewood a licence for the sole printing of bills for players.³

¹ See the *British Bibliographer*, i, 36. It will be seen hereafter, that another *Quest of Enquiry* (Jack of Dover's) is noticed by Fitzgeoffrey in 1620.

² Edition 1821, p. 122.

³ The entry in their books runs thus :—'October, 1587, John Charlewood. Lycensed to him by the whole consent of the Assistants the

At a later period the right was assumed and exercised by the Crown. It appears that James Roberts had also printed 'the bills for players', and he mentions them among publications from his press.¹ Roberts began to print as early as 1573, and continued until after the year 1600. He might, very possibly, succeed Charlewood, as the person licensed by the Stationers' Company.

Malone, in reference to this circumstance, expresses his surprise that 'even the right of printing play-bills was at 'one time made a subject of monopoly by the Stationers' Company';² but he was not aware that James I had actually granted them a patent for the purpose.

In the Library of the Society of Antiquaries is preserved a broadside, dated 1620, and entitled, 'An Abstract of his Majestie's Letters Patents granted unto Roger Wood and Thomas Symcocke, for the sole printing of paper and parchment on the one side'; and among the articles enumerated are 'all Billes for Playes, Pastimes, Showes, Challenges, Prizes or Sportes whatsoever'; and at the close, people wishing for any such work to be done are called upon to repair 'to the Old Change, at the Golden Anchor, over against Carter Lane end, where they shall be reasonably 'dealt with for the same'. Wood and Symcocke assigned their right

onlye ymprinting of all manner of billes for players. Provided that if any trouble arise herebye, then Charlewood to bear the charges.' The trouble to arise out of this exclusive privilege probably meant a denial on the part of other printers and stationers of the power to grant it.

¹ Vide Ames's *History of Printing*, p. 342. The MS. which Ames copied was furnished to him by Coxeter, and in it Roberts also states that he had either printed or bought the copyright of the following 'plays-books', viz., *The Weather—Foure P.—Love—Youth—Impatient Poverty*, and *Hicke Skorner*.

² *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 154.

under this patent to Edward Allde, and the broadside was published by him in that capacity.¹

Malone states that the earlier play-bills 'did not contain 'a list of the characters, or of the names of the actors by whom they were represented'; and although we are without affirmative evidence on the point, he was, probably, right in his conclusion.² It may be inferred from a portion of the

¹ 'At London. Printed by Edward All-de, the Assigne of Roger Wood and Thomas Symcocke, 1620.'

² He was decidedly wrong, however, when he adds in a note (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 154), that the practice of inserting the names of the characters and of the players 'did not commence till the beginning of the eighteenth century', as is proved by the following play-bill (if genuine, which may be doubted), sold among the books of the late Mr. Bindley : it was subsequently separately printed.

'By his Majesty's Company of Comedians, at the new Theatre in Drury Lane. This day, being Thursday, April 8th, 1663, will be acted, a Comedy, called, *The Humourous Lieutenant*.—The King, *Mr. Winterset*; Demetrius, *Mr. Hart*; Selevers [Seleucus], *Mr. Burt*; Leontius, *Major Mohun*; Lieutenant, *Mr. Clun*; Celiæ [Celia], *Mrs. Marshall*. The play will begin at three o'clock exactly. Boxes, 4s.; Pit, 2s. 6d.; Middle Gallery, 1s. 6d.; Upper Gallery, 1s.

The names of these performers are well-known, and most of them continued to entertain the town for some time after the Restoration. Clun is, however, an exception, as he was murdered in 1664, and a poem, upon his death, was published under the following title : 'An Elegy upon the most execrable Murther of Mr. Clun, one of the Comedians of the Theator Royal, who was robb'd and most inhumanely kill'd on Tuesday night, being the 2d of August, 1664, near Tatnam Court, as he was riding to his country-house at Kentish Town.' His performances of the Lieutenant, in the play to which the above bill applies, of Smug, in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, of Bessus, in *King and No King*, of Falstaff, in *Henry the Fourth*, and of Iago, in *The Moor of Venice*, are mentioned among his principal characters. In other respects, the production is utterly worthless, as may be judged from the following conclusion :

'But oh, black Death! something I'll say of thee,
For thou didst act among this treachery,

dialogue in *Histrionastix*, 1610, that the name of the author was sometimes, if not usually, printed in the play-bill, together with the title of his production.¹ In the same play we read the following stage-direction: 'Enter Belch' (one of the players) 'setting up bills', which may show also the kind of employment to which the inferior actors, when in the country, condescended. They are afterwards called 'text-bills for plays'. In the induction to *A Warning for Fair Women*, 1599 (to which Shakespeare most assuredly contributed), Tragedy whips History and Comedy from the stage, exclaiming—

'Tis you have kept the theatres so long
Painted in *play-bills* upon every post,
While I am scorned of the multitude.'

A similar proof is to be found in Taylor's (the Water-poet) *Wit and Mirth*, to which Malone referred.² That it was usual,

And thy hand did seal our poor Clun's death,
Who oft us pleased with (that you took) his breath.
Oh, thou unkind and mortal foe to man,
Who still are blind, yet checks all thou can.'

¹ Some of the characters are there reading the prologue to a piece supposed to have been written by Post-haste, the poet, which thus terminates—'Our Prologue peaceth'; on which Gulch exclaims—

'Peaceth! what speaking Pageanter penn'd that?

Belch. Who but master Post-haste.

Gulch. It is as dangerous to read his name at a play-door, as a printed bill on a plague door.'

² And which he slightly misquoted. It is called 'A Quiblet', and runs as follows:—'Master Field, the player, riding up Fleet Street a great pace, a gentleman called him, and asked him what play was played that day? He (being angry to be stayed upon so frivolous a demand) answered, that he might see what play was to be played upon every *post*. I cry you mercy (said the gentleman), I took you for a *post*, you rode so fast.'

[It

with the title of the piece, to state whether it was comedy, tragedy, etc., we gather from the prologue to Shirley's *Cardinal*, when he apologises for not calling it 'a play' in the posting-bill :—

'Think what you please, we call it but "a play";
Whether the comic muse, or lady's love,
Romance, or direful tragedy it prove,
The *bill* determines not.'

and from what immediately follows, it may be thought that the names of tragedies, for greater distinction, were ordinarily printed in red ink :—

'And you would be
Persuaded I would have 't a comedy,
For all the *purple in the name*.¹

The term 'rehearsal' was as well understood, and as technically applied, before 1600 as at present.² In the articles

It may be remarked that this 'quip' was stolen, like many more, by the collector of *Hugh Peter's Fests*, where it is numbered 14. The same pun forms the point (if point it may be called) of an epigram in H. Fitzgeoffrey's *Certaine Elegies*, etc., 1620—

'Pontus comes posting almost every day,
And cries, How do you, Sir? Come, what's the play?
Who doubts but much his labour he hath lost :
I ne'er could tell no more than could the post.'

It again occurs in *Westminster Quibbles*, and there it is attributed to a player of the name of Wallop.

¹ In *The Adventures of Five Hours*, 1663, we have the precise form in which bills of new plays commenced; for 'the Prologue enters with a playbill in his hand', and reads thus :—'This day, the 15th of December, shall be acted a new play, never played before, called *The Adventures of Five Hours*.'

² In Munday and Chettle's *Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington*, acted in 1597, Skelton, who was supposed to play the part of Friar Tuck in it, observes to Sir John Eltham, who personated Little John,

'Then 'twill trouble you,
After your great affairs, to take the pain,

between Henslowe, Meade and Dawes, the actor, in April 1614, it is provided that he 'shall and will at all times during the said term duly attend all such *rehearsals* which shall, the night before the rehearsal, be given publicly out'.

Malone proves, from the lines addressed by J. Stephens to H. Fitzgeoffrey, on his *Notes from the Blackfriars*, 1620,¹ that dramatic poets were admitted gratis into the theatres; and we are to recollect that not a few of them were also actors.²

After plays had been bought by a Manager or Company

That I intended to entreat you to,
About *rehearsal* of your promis'd play.'

The word occurs, and in the same sense, in R. Brome's *English Moor*, printed in 1658, and in various other authorities. If, as was often the case, authors were present at the first performance of their plays, we may conclude that they were not absent from rehearsals. Gifford (*Ben Jonson's Works*, vi, 5) states that Ben Jonson 'always attended the first presentation of his pieces, when it was in his power'.

¹ Malone gives 1617 as the date of this publication. It was printed in 1620; but there is another edition without date, and in his copy in the Bodleian, Malone has written that the title-page of it is the only novelty: this is also a mistake, for there are several variations in the body of the work, which show at least some part of it to have been a re-impression. The copy with the date of 1620 was 'printed for Thomas Jones', and that without a date, 'by B. A., for Miles Partriche'.

² In Dekker's *Satiromastix*, 1602, two charges are brought against Ben Jonson, which, though no doubt exaggerated, probably had some foundation in truth, or they would have been pointless: the one is that he sat 'in the gallery' during the performance of his plays, distorting his countenance at every line, 'to make gentlemen have an eye on him, and to make players afraid to take his part', *i.e.*, afraid to act the part assigned to them. The other charge is in these terms: 'Besides you must forswear to venture on the stage when your play is ended, and to exchange courtesies and compliments with the gallants in the Lords' rooms, to make all the house rise up in arms and to cry—That's Horace! that's he! that's he! that's he, that pens and purges humours and diseases.' This passage affords a curious trait of the manners of the times.

for representation, authors generally abandoned all care of them. It was Gifford's opinion that Ben Jonson superintended the printing of the volume of his 'Works',¹ which appeared in 1616, but few dramatic poets of that day showed as much anxiety for their reputation. The purchase for the use of the theatre seems ordinarily to have been of the copy-

¹ Ben Jonson was laughed at a good deal for giving such productions as plays the title of 'works'. Fitzgeoffrey made a feeble blow at him in lib. i, sat. 1, of his *Certaine Elegies*, etc., 1620, before quoted: the passage is curious, and worth extracting, on account of the many publications of that day to which it refers:

'How many *Volumes* lye neglected, thrust
In every Bench-hole? every heape of dust?
Which from some *Gowries* practise, *Powder* plot,
Or *Tiburne Lectures*, all their substance got:
Yet tosse our time-stalles, you'll admire the rout,
Of carelesse fearelesse *Pamphlets* flye about.
Bookes made of Ballades, *Workes of Playes*,
Sightes to be read of my Lo. Maiors day's;
Post's lately set forth, bearing (their backe at)
Letters of all sorts, an intollerable packet.
Villains discovery, by Lanthorn and Candle-light)
(Strange if the author should not see to handle right)
A Quest of Inquirie (Jake at Dover's)
The Jestes of Scoggin, and divers others
(Which no man better [than] the Stationer knowes)
Wonderfull writers, Poets in Prose.
What poste-pinde Poets, that on each base Theame
With invocations vexe Apollo's name!
Springes for Woodcockes: Doctor Merriman:
Rub and a good Cast: Taylor the Ferriman.
Fennor with his Unisounding eare word;
The unreasonable Epigramatist of Hereford:
Rowland with his Knaves a murnivall,
None worth the calling for, a fire burne am all!
And a number numberlesse that march (untolde)
Mongst almanacks and pippins to be solde.'

right, as well as of the right to perform ; and the interests of managers might be injured by printing plays, not merely because public curiosity would thereby, to a certain extent, be gratified, but because rival companies would thus be enabled to represent their pieces. Malone (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 159, etc.) recovered and published two curious documents upon this point from the Lord Chamberlain's office, though not of a very early date, which are inserted at length in the *Annals of the Stage* (ii, 17 and 28).

An author might, in some cases, reserve to himself the right of printing a play, but we have no direct evidence on the subject : that poets, after selling to a company, had unfairly obtained money from a stationer, is proved by Thomas Heywood, in the address 'to the Reader' before his *Rape of Lucrece*, which, between 1608 and 1638, went through five impressions : 'Though some (he observes) have used 'a double sale of their labours, first to the stage, and after to the press, for my own part, I here proclaim myself ever faithful in the first, and never guilty in the last.' The injury to the theatre was, however, commonly done without any privity on the part of the author ; and Heywood adds, that some of his pieces had 'accidentally' got into the printer's hands, and 'therefore so corrupt and mangled, *copied only by the ear*, that I have been as unable to know them, as ashamed to challenge them'. Marston, in the preface to his *Malecontent*, 1604, states, in accordance with Heywood, as an excuse for printing it, 'the least hurt I can receive, is to do myself the wrong : but since others would do me more, the least inconvenience is to be accepted'. In his *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*, 1637, Heywood explains in what way plays were 'copied by the ear' : he is adverting to his *Queen Elizabeth* (so he there calls his *If you know not me, you know Nobody*, first published in 1606), and 'taxeth the most corrupted copy, now imprinted', observing ;

'Some by *stenography* drew
The plot, put it in print, scarce one word true.'

In the prefatory matter to his *English Traveller*, 1633, he farther explains the cause why so few of the two-hundred and twenty plays, in which he had had 'an entire hand, or at least a main finger', had been published. 'True it is (he says) that my plays are not exposed unto the world, in volumes to bear the titles of Works (as others): one reason is, that many of them, by shifting and change of companies, have been neglectingly lost: others of them are still retained in the hands of some actors, who think it against their peculiar profit to have them come in print;¹ and a third, that it never was any great ambition in me to be, in this kind, voluminously read.' Taylor, Pennycuicke, Goffe, and other actors, many years afterwards, when the theatres were closed by authority, published plays (which till then they had 'retained in their hands' in MS.), in order to relieve their necessities. Middleton's *Witch* was not printed until 1778, when Mr. Reed gave it to the world; and *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* continued in MS. until 1824. A few other pieces of the same kind remain

¹ This second of Heywood's reasons may be illustrated by a remarkable item in Henslowe's *Diary*, the only one of the kind, relative to the printing of the play of *Patient Grissell*, of which Chettle, Dekker and Haughton were the authors. It was played in 1599, and seems to have been extremely popular, and the following is the entry, of which Malone took no notice:

'Lent unto Robart Shaw, the 18 of March 1599, to geve unto the printer to stay the printing of *Patient Grissell*, 4os.'

This would show that both authors and managers had no other remedy in such a case, but were obliged to buy off the printer, when the copy of a play, which they did not wish to be published, got into his hands. *Patient Grissell* came from the press of Henry Rocket in 1603. It has been stated in a previous part of this work, that the names of Chettle and his two coadjutors were not printed on the title-page.

'unsullied by the press', in private collections, independent of the valuable dramatic relics, *nigram cito rapti in culinam*, by Warburton's domestic.

Considering the relative value of money, it may be thought that the price of a printed play in the time of Shakespeare was high. The preface of 'a never Writer to an ever Reader', before the first edition of *Troilus and Cressida* in 1609, shows that that price was 'a testern'; and so it continued in 1632: T. Randolph, in that year, apologizes to the readers of his *Jealous Lovers* for putting them 'to the expense of a sixpence'. Long afterwards it was not advanced; and as money became more abundant, a corresponding change was made in the manner in which plays were published. Verse had been constantly printed as prose, because it occupied less space; and, doubtless, prologues and epilogues were frequently omitted because their insertion would require an additional leaf. *The Birth of Merlin*, 1662 (attributed to Shakespeare and Rowley), Middleton's *Anything for a quiet Life*, 1662, and Webster's *Cure for a Cuckold*, 1661, among others, from the shop of Kirkman and his partners, are striking specimens of the stationers' skill at compression, to the confusion, and sometimes destruction, of all metres.¹

¹ Prynne, in the 'Epistle Dedicatory' to his *Histriomastix*, 1633, makes, what appears, at the first blush, a staggering assertion: viz., that there had been 'above forty thousand play-books printed within these two years (as stationers inform me), they being now more vendible than the choicest sermons'. It is obvious, however, that he refers to the total number of copies sold, amounting to forty thousand, and cannot mean that so many different plays had been published in that period. The few years preceding the publication of *Histriomastix* had, however, been more than usually prolific in dramatic pieces. Philip Stubbes (the author of *The Anatomy of Abuses*, containing so severe, or rather so violent, an attack upon the stage), in his *Motive to Good Works*, 1593, even at that date, complains of the difficulty of getting a learned and religious

Although popular plays were sometimes printed from copies taken in shorthand, or, perhaps, from the MSS. of the parts furnished by inferior and mercenary actors, while they were in a course of performance, no author, yet discovered, mentions anything like the modern practice among visitors of the theatre of taking the book with them : this custom has, perhaps, arisen out of the magnitude of our places of public amusement of this description, which renders it necessary, in order that the dialogue may be fully and correctly understood. That our ancestors furnished themselves sometimes with pamphlets and tracts, in order to fill up the vacancies of the performance, or the interval between the entrance of the spectators and the commencement of the play, can be fully established. Henry Parrat, in his *Mastiff*, 1615, supposes, in one part of it, that his work will fall into the hands of some 'mungrel home-spun clerk', who knows no language but English, and who will read and criticise it *at the theatre*. W. Fennor, in his *Descriptions*, 1616, imagines that he shall obtain readers in the same manner : he says, 'I suppose this pamphlet will hap into your hands before a play begins, with the importunate clamour of 'Buy a new Book', by some needy companion, that will be glad to furnish you with the work for a turned tester'.¹

publication allowed by authority, while 'other books, full of all filthiness, scurrility, bawdry, dissoluteness, cozenage, coneycatching, and the like (which call for vengeance to Heaven), are either quickly licensed, or at least easily tolerated without all denial or contradiction whatsoever'. It is rather singular, considering his former animosity, that he does not specifically mention play-books, instead of leaving them to be included in the general censure he applies to works 'full of all filthiness, scurrility, bawdry, dissoluteness', etc. The printing of plays in 1593 was not unfrequent, but in the following year they were much more numerous.

¹ Probably a 'needy companion' also stood at the door of the theatre hawking his tracts as people went in ; and this practice Cartwright ex-

Money appears to have been given by persons to whom works were dedicated ; and on the authority of Nathaniel Field, Malone has informed us that forty shillings were usually paid by the individual to whom a play was inscribed : in his address before his *Woman is a Weathercock*, 1612, 'to any Woman that hath been no Weathercock', Field remarks :—'I did determine not to have dedicated my play to anybody, because forty shillings I care not for.' At this date the usual price of a MS. play seems to have been 12*l.*, compared with which sum 2*l.* merely for the dedication seems a large reward : no wonder, therefore, that Field adds, 'and above few or none will bestowe on these matters'. A little anterior to this date, we may infer, from the following passage in the dedication of *The Tragedy of Claudius Tiberius Nero*, 1607, to Sir A. Man-nering, that it was not always easy to find a person who would give anything at all to have a play inscribed to him :—'The reason wherefore so many plays have formerly been published without inscriptions unto particular patrons (contrary to the custom in divulging other books), although, perhaps, I could nearly guess, yet because I would willingly offend none, I will now conceal.' Chapman's dedication of his *All Fools*, 1605, seems to have been cancelled in extant copies. This information, though minute, is worthy of record.

pressly mentions in his *Ordinary*, act iii, scene 5, when Catchmey tells Sir Christopher, the curate,

'I shall live to see thee
Stand in a *play-house door* with thy long box,
Thy half-crown library, and cry small books.'

EXTEMPORAL PLAYS AND PLOTS.

AMONG the documents found by Malone in Dulwich College, formerly the property of Edward Alleyn, its founder, were four 'plats' or plots of dramatic representations, the nature of which our theatrical antiquaries have not explained. They are the outlines or schemes of performances, regarding which the information we possess is scanty and scattered, as well as unsatisfactory, and it will be impossible entirely to clear up difficulties regarding them.

Only one of these four 'plats' or 'platforms' now remains in its original depository at Dulwich College: all the rest, which were in the hands of Malone or Steevens, have disappeared. It is true that all four are printed in Malone's *History of the Stage*,¹ but in that which only we have had an opportunity of comparing, we found many errors and variations of greater or less importance.

It is a pasteboard of about fifteen inches long, by about nine inches broad, with a hole in the centre near the top, by which it was doubtless hung up on a nail or peg, in order that each actor engaged in the performance might have the opportunity of referring to it as the piece proceeded, and thus be able to ascertain his place and duty. It is divided into two columns; but it will be more convenient, and quite as intelligible, not to give it tabularly, as in the original, but following precisely the course of the story as detailed in the two columns, proceeding to the bottom of the first before we commence the second. It is in a clear Italian hand, very like that which G. Peele wrote in 1596. It is as follows:—

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 348, *et seq.*

‘THE PLATT OF THE SECOUND PARTE OF THE SEVEN
DEADLIE SINNS.

‘A tent being plast one the stage for Henry the Sixt : he in it Asleepe. To him the Leutenñt. A purcevaunt R. Cowley Jo. Duke and i warder R. Pallant—to them Pride, Gluttony, Wrath and Cove-tousnes at one dore, at an other dore Envie Sloth and Lechery. The Three put back the foure, and so exeunt.

‘Henry Awaking. Enter A Keeper. J. Sincler. to him a servaunt T. Belt. to him Lidgate and the Keeper. Exit, then enter againe—Then Envy passeth over the stag—Lidgate speakes.

‘A sennit. Dumb Shew.

‘Enter King Gorboduk with 2 Counsailers. R. Burbadg, Mr. Brian, Th. Goodale. The Queene with ferrex and Porrex and som attendaunts follow. Saunder. W. Sly. Harry. J. Duke. Kitt. Ro. Pallant. J. Holland. After Gorbeduk hath Consulted with his Lords he brings his 2 sonns to severall seates. They enving on on other ferrex offers to take Porex his Corowne. he draws his weapon. The King Queen and Lords step between them. They Thrust Them away, and menasing ech other exit. The Queene and Lords depart Hevilie. Lidgate speaks.

‘Enter Ferrex Crownd with Drum and Coulers and soldiers one way. Harry. Kitt. R. Cowly John duke. to them At another dore Porrex drum and Collors and soldiers. W Sly. R Pallant. John Sincler. J Holland.

‘Enter Queene with 2 Counsailors. Mr. Brian, Tho. Goodale. to them ferrex and Porrex severall waies with Drums and Powers. Gorboduk entreing in the midst between. Henry speaks.

‘Alarums with Excurtions. After Lidgate speakes.

‘Enter ferrex and Porrex severally, Gorboduke still following them. Lucius and Damasus. Mr. Bry. T. Good.

‘Enter ferrex at one dore. Porrex at an other. The fight. ferrex is slayne. To them Videna the Queene. to hir Damasus. to him Lucius.

‘Enter Porrex sad, with Dordan his man. R. P. W Sly. to them

the Queene and A Ladie. Nich. Saunder. And Lords R. Cowly, Mr. Brian. To them Luclus Running.

‘Henry and Lidgat speaks. Sloth passeth over.

‘Enter Giraldus Phronesius Aspatia Pompeia Rodope. R Cowly Tho Goodale R Go. Ned. Nick.

‘Enter Sardinapalus Arbactus Nicanor and Captaines marching. Mr. Phillipps. Mr. Pope. R. Pa. Kitt. J. Sincler. J. Holland.

‘Enter a Captaine with Aspatia and the Ladies. Kitt.

‘Lidgat speake.

‘Enter Nicanor with other Captaines R. Pall. J. Sincler. Kitt. J. Holland. R. Cowly. to them Arbactus Mr. Pope. to him Will foole. J. Duke. to him Rodopeie Ned. to her Sardanapalus like a woman with Aspatia Rodope, Pompeia Will foole. to them Arbactus and 3 musitions Mr. Pope. J. Sincler. Vincent. R. Cowley. to them Nicanor and others R. P. Kitt.

‘Enter Sardanapa. with the Ladies. to them a Messenger Tho. Goodale. to him Will foole running. A Larum.

‘Enter Arbactus pursuing Sardanapalus and The Ladies fly. After enter Sarda. with as many Jewels robes and gold as he can cary. Alarum.

‘Enter Arbactus Nicanor and The other Captains in triumph. mr Pope. R. Pa. Kitt. J. Holl. R. Cow. J. Sinc.

‘Henry speaks and Lidgate. Lechery passeth over the stag.

‘Enter Tereus Philomele Julio. R. Burbadge. Ro. R. Pall. J. Sink.

‘Enter Progne Itis and Lords. Saunder. Will. J. Duke. W. Sly. Hary.

‘Enter Philomele and Tereus. to them Julio.

‘Enter Progne, Panthea, Itis and Lords. Saunder. T. Belt. Will. w. Sly. Hary. Tho Goodale. to them Tereus with Lords. R. Burbadge. J. Duke R. Cowly.

‘A Dumb Show. Lidgate speakes.

‘Enter Progne with the Sampler. to her Tereus from Hunting with his Lords: to them Philomele with Itis hed in a dish. Mercury comes and all vanish. to him 3 Lords. Th. Goodale. Hary. W. Sly.

‘Henry speaks. to him Lieutenant Pursevaunt and warders. R. Cowly. J. Duke. J. Holland. Joh. Sincler. to them Warwick. Mr. Brian.

‘Lidgate speaks to the Audiens, and so Exitts.—FINIS.’

It is to be observed that this is only the plat of the *second* part of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, and that the plat of the *first* part, which probably displayed the effects of Pride, Gluttony, Wrath, and Covetousness, is one of those which has been lost. We will speak briefly of the form of the piece, of its character, and of the actors engaged in the representation.

It relates to three distinct stories, illustrating the consequences of Envy, Sloth, and Lechery: first, that of Gorboduc and his sons Ferrex and Porrex; secondly, that of Sardanapalus; and thirdly, that of Tereus; and the question arises, in what way Henry VI and Lidgate were concerned in it? Henry VI is in his tent; and probably Lidgate is supposed to regulate the performance in his presence, and for his amusement. In the course of the piece, Henry and Lidgate twice talk together, and Lidgate seems to act as chorus, to explain the dumb shows, and to deliver the prologue and epilogue.

It is easy to follow the course of each story, merely by the explanations given in the ‘plat’: the tragedy of *Ferrex and Porrex* is well known; but no pieces of a similar kind have reached us, regarding the luxury of Sardanapalus, or the lechery of Tereus. Steevens, when adverting to these ‘plats’, concludes that such plays once existed, and that parts of them were used in this performance. This is at least doubtful; and if so, we must suppose that four other plays had been previously employed in the representation of the four other deadly sins, as displayed in the *first* part.

We apprehend that the greater portion of the dialogue, at least between the principal characters, was to a certain degree extemporaneous, and that this production, and the three

others of a similar kind, were got up as experiments in the nature of the Italian *Commedie al improvviso*, in which the actors invented, or were supposed to invent, the dialogue for the occasion.¹ In the production before us it is evident that there must have been a good deal of pantomime, but it was clearly not without dialogue. We have proof that the Italian extemporal plays were then known in England: the 'comedians of Ravenna', who were not 'tied to any written device', but who, nevertheless, had 'certain grounds or principles of their own', are mentioned in Whetstone's *Heptameron of Civil Discourses*, 1582; and performers of the same kind are particularly spoken of in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*: there Hieronimo, wishing to get up a play in haste, says:

'The Italian tragedians were so sharp of wit,
That in one hour's meditation
They would perform anything in action.'

and Lorenzo replies,

'I have seen the like
In Paris, amongst the French tragedians.'

The Italian 'extemporal plays' are also mentioned in Ben Jonson's *Case is Altered*; and, perhaps, when Polonius, speaking of the players, tells Hamlet 'for the law of writ and the liberty, these are your only men',² the passage may be explained by supposing that he means, that they were good both for written performances and for those in which 'liberty' was allowed, the dialogue not being set down for the performers, although the course of the plot was regularly marked.

¹ There was an Italian *Commediante*, named Drousiano, and his company, in London, in January 1577-8. (See *Annals of the Stage*, i, 235.) The nature of their performances is not any where stated, but it is possible that they might represent some extempore comedies.

² Act ii, scene 2.

At a later date the matter seems to have been sufficiently well understood.¹

The contriver and arranger of the 'plat' of the *Seven Deadly Sins* was Richard Tarleton, who was celebrated for his talent at extemporal versifying. Gabriel Harvey assigns it to him in his *Four Letters*, etc., 1592, where he states that it was played in Oxford as well as in London; and every time it was repeated the actors would of course be more perfect, and more ready with the dialogue suiting their parts. Thomas Nash, also, in his *Strange News*, 1592, speaks of the 'play of the *Seven Deadly Sins*' as the work of Tarleton. Extemporal composition on the stage, both by him and others, was no novelty in 1580: the author of the *Second and Third Blast of Retreat from Plays*, sums up his arguments, or rather invectives, in these terms:—'Such doubtless is mine opinion of common plays, usual jesting, and *rhiming ex-tempore*, that in a Christian Commonweal they are not sufferable.' Meres thus speaks of Tarleton and his contemporary, both of whom are also praised by Howes, in his con-

¹ In R. Brome's *City Wit*, played about 1632, Sarpego, the school-master, proposes to get up a dialogue in the nature of a moral between Lady Luxury, a Prodigal, and a Fool; and the Widow Tryman inquires who is to personate the characters? to which Sarpego replies—'Why, in that lies the nobility of the device: it should be done after the fashion of Italy by ourselves, *only the plot premeditated*—to what our aim must tend: marry, *the speeches must be extempore*.' In the same author's *Antipodes*, 1640, Bye-play is represented as an extempore actor, who delivers nothing premeditatedly. This play contains a mention of Shakespeare, and an allusion to the Earl of Southampton, that we do not recollect to have seen quoted: Lord Letoy, speaking of his players, says—

'These lads can act the Emperors' lives all over,
And *Shakespeare's Chronicled Histories* to boot;
And were that Cæsar, or *that English Earl*,
That lov'd a play and player so well, now living,
I would not be outvyed in my delights.'

tinuation of *Stow's Chronicle*. 'As Antipater Sidonius (says Meres¹) was famous for extemporal verse in Greek, and Ovid for his *Quicquid conabar dicere versus erat*, so was our Tarleton, of whom Dr. Case, that learned physician, thus speaketh in the seventh book and seventeenth chapter of his *Politics* :—*Aristoteles suum Theodoretum laudavit quendam peritum tragædiarum actorem ; Cicero suum Roscium : nos Angli Tarletonum, in cujus voce et vultu omnes jocosæ affectus, in cujus cerebroso capite lepidæ facetiæ habitant.* And so is now our witty Wilson, who, for learning and extemporal wit, in this faculty is without compare or compeer ; as to his great and eternal commendations he manifested in his challenge at the Swan on the Bank-side.'

What part Tarleton took in his own 'plat' does not appear, his name not being mentioned, but Malone suggested that it was that of Will Fool, who figures only as an attendant upon Sardanapalus. It will also be observed that another person called 'Will' is mentioned as one of the performers, and Malone conjectured that this might be no other than Shakespeare. It is just possible that it should be so, but it is hardly likely that he should have taken the part of Itys, which Malone also assigns to him. There is as much reason for saying that Marlow also performed in it, because we find the abbreviation for Christopher frequently used :² Ned was possibly Edward

¹ *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, fo. 285 b.

² We know from Thomas Heywood, who was the contemporary of Shakespeare, and Marlow, that the last was always called *Kit*, and the first *Will*, by their acquaintances :—

'Marlow, renown'd for his rare art and wit,
Could ne'er attain beyond the name of *Kit*. . .
Mellifluous Shakespeare, whose enchanting quill
Commanded mirth and passion, was but *Will*.'

Hierarchie of the blessed Angels, 1635, Lib. 4.

Heywood there also mentions the following poets—Greene, Kyd, Watson,

Alleyn. There is a remarkable difference in the manner in which the various actors are spoken of: some are only called by the most familiar abridgment of the Christian name, as Will, Kit, Ned, Harry, Nick, etc.; others usually have their surnames appended, as R. Burbadge, R. Pallant, J. Duke, T. Goodale, W. Sly, etc., and three are mentioned with the style of Mr. always preceding, viz., Mr. Bryan, Mr. Pope, and Mr. Phillips. Perhaps they were then the seniors and largest sharers of the company, and were, therefore, more respectfully treated. Phillips represented the company in 1600.

Steevens seems to have thought that some scenes from the old play of *Henry VI* were also represented,¹ but this notion is not supported by the plan of the representation: Envy, Sloth, and Lechery drive from the stage (or 'put back', as it is expressed in the 'plat') Pride, Gluttony, Wrath, and Covetousness, while Henry is asleep in his tent, and he does not wake until after they are gone. The characters of Henry VI, Lidgate, Warwick, and of the Lieutenant, Pursuivant, and Warder seem to have formed only a kind of induction and conclusion to the main subject of the drama.

The three other 'plats', or platforms of dramatic representations, are precisely of the same character as that on which we have dwelt. The most ancient, in the opinion of Malone, who had them all before him, and was therefore most competent to judge, was that headed '*the plotte of the deade man's fortune*', from which it is impossible to make out any story: nevertheless, the piece was regularly divided into five acts, and 'music', which was to be performed in the intervals, is four times noted. Malone was surprised to see the celebrated name of Burbadge placed against the part of a messenger, but

Nash, Beaumont, Jonson, Fletcher, Webster, Dekker, May, Middleton, and Ford, who were called by abbreviations of their Christian names.

¹ Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 356.

he forgot how young Richard may then have been : the only other names of actors inserted are Darlowe, Robert Lee, and Sam, who has usually the letter *b* before his name. The names of some of the characters are singular : Urganda, probably an enchantress, was one of them : others were Laertes, Eschines, Tesephon, Algerius, Valedor, Carinus, Aspida, Bellville, Statira, and Rose, together with two persons called Pantaloon and Peascod, the latter of whom wore 'spectacles'. Some of the directions are extremely minute, and the following merits quotation—

'Enter Kinge Egereon, allgeryus, tesephon, with lordes ; the executioner with his sworde and blocke, and offycers with holberds : to them carynus and prelyor ; then after that the musicke plaies, and then enters 3 antique faires [fairies] dancyng on after a nother : the first takes the sworde from the executioner and sendes him a waye ; the other caryes a waie the blocke, and the third sends a waie the offycers and unbindes allgeryus and tesephon ; and as they entred so they departe.'

The piece was introduced by a prologue, but it does not appear that it was followed by an epilogue, the last direction being, 'Enter the panteloun, and causeth the cheste or truncke to be broughte forth'.

The date of the third representation of the same kind (which, however, Malone places fourth) can be fixed with sufficient precision : it is entitled *The plott of Frederick and Basilea* ; and in Henslowe's *Diary* it is first mentioned as having been performed on the 3rd of June 1597. It only occupies one column of the two into which the pasteboard is divided, and the acts are not distinguished. It had, however, the formalities of a prologue and epilogue, which were spoken by Richard Alleyn, whom Steevens, in one of his notes upon this performance, confounds with Edward Alleyn (who is called 'Mr. Alleyn' throughout), and terms 'the manager'

He was also puzzled by the word 'gatherers', which he found placed against 'the guard', as if the gatherers had composed the guard: 'Without assistance (he observes) from the play of which this is the plot, the denomination *gatherers* is perhaps inexplicable.' He would have found it very explicable if he had adverted to a passage, before cited, from Dekker's *Gull's Horn-book*, 1609:—'Whether, therefore, the *gatherers* of the public or private playhouse stand to receive 'the afternoon's rent', etc. The 'gatherers' were those who gathered or collected the money, and who, during the performance, after all the spectators were arrived and when their services were no longer needed at the doors, were required to appear on the stage as 'the guard' of Myron-hamet, the part apparently supported by Edward Alleyn.

We are able also, from Henslowe's MS., to fix the date of the fourth and last of these singular productions. It is entitled, *The plott of the first part of Tamar Cam*, and it is inserted in Henslowe's *Diary* under the date of October 1602. This piece was divided into five acts, and between each a 'chorus' was delivered by 'Dick Jubie'. Judging as well as we can of the plot from the manner in which the entrances and exits of the characters are marked, it does not seem that this representation followed the course of Marlow's first part of *Tamburlaine the Great*, although probably on the same story. A number of spirits were introduced, one of whom was called Ascalon: he and the other agents played prominent parts in the plot, at the conclusion of which, persons from twelve nations, owning the sway of the conqueror, came upon the stage, each being represented by two actors. The directions for the last scene run in the following form—

'Enter Attaxes and Artabius: Mr. Charles, Mr. Boorne: attendants, George, W. Parr, and Parsons: Drom and cullers. To them Capitaine, Tho. Marbeck: to them Tamor Cam, and Palmida, and Ottanes.

- 'Enter the Tartars : Mr. Towne, Mr. Denyngen.
- 'Enter the Geates : Gedion and Gibbs.
- 'Enter the Amozins : Jack Grigorie and little Will.
- 'Enter the Nagars : Tho. Rowley and the red fast fellow.
- 'Enter the ollive cullord moores : A. Jeffs, Mr. Jubie.
- 'Enter Canniballs : Rester, old Browne.
- 'Enter Hermophrodites : Jeames, Parsons.
- 'Enter the people of Bohare : W. Parr, W. Cart.
- 'Enter Pigmies : gils his boy, and little will Barne.
- 'Enter the Crymms : Mr. Sam, Ned Browne.
- 'Enter Cataians : Dick Jubie and George.
- 'Enter the Bactrians : W. Parr, Tho. Marbeck.'

Thus four-and-twenty persons seem required to represent the conquered nations, besides the characters in the play, also necessarily on the stage ; but it will be observed that George, Parsons, Tho. Marbeck, and W. Parr doubled their parts, going out and returning as representatives of an Hermaphrodite, one of the people of Bohare, a Cattaian, and the two Bactrians who last entered, so that they had most time to redress. The character of Assinico, or Assinego, the clown or fool, also deserves remark : it was played by Gabriel Singer, (afterwards killed by Ben Jonson), and in one scene of the performance he was to appear drunk. This 'plott' differs from the other three in one respect, viz., that in a margin down the side of the first column are regularly inserted such stage directions as 'sound sennet', 'sound flourish' on the entrance of the principal persons : 'thunder' on the appearance of the spirits : 'sound alarum' before a battle, 'wind horn', to denote a hunt, 'drum a far off', etc.

Steevens was of opinion that these 'plats' had belonged to three different theatres,¹ and he states that they were all written 'in very different hands'.

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 358.

It is not easy to determine whether another 'plat-form' of a dramatic performance in 1602, preserved in a printed shape by the Society of Antiquaries, belongs at all, or in what degree, to the same species of representation. It is a broadside with the following title:—'The plot of the play, called *England's Joy*. To be playd at the Swan, this 6 of November, 1602.' It was an allegorical exhibition of some of the principal events of the reign of Elizabeth, who was personated under the character of *England's Joy*; and the broadside would seem to have been intended to make the matter more intelligible to the audience, as the dumb-show (accompanied perhaps by dialogue, or *viva voce* explanations) proceeded. The author of it was a person of the name of Vennard, as he is called in the following lines in Saville's *Entertainment of King James at Theobald's*, 1603:—

'I cannot deem it now a gulling toy,
Which Vennard (inspir'd) entitled *England's Joy*:
I rather guess he did our good devine,
Not daring to disclose 't before full time.
Be bold, go on—now's thy presaging plain,
King James is *England's Joy*, long hop'd for gain.'

It is mentioned several times by Taylor, the water-poet, in 1614, in his *Cast over the Water to William Fennor*, who is not to be confounded with Vennard (although Gifford commits the error), to whom Ben Jonson also alludes in two of his masks, *Love Restored*, 1616, and the *Mask of Augurs*, 1622. *England's Joy* is correctly reprinted in the last edition of the *Harleian Miscellany*.

The mention of another and very different species of extemporaneous performance ought not to be entirely omitted. It was at a very early date the custom for audiences to put the ready talents of actors to a hard test: they flung what were called 'themes' upon the stage, to which some comic per-

former, of ready wit and humour, was expected to give a reply on the spot, or on which he was to dissert. Tarlton was famous for his skill and readiness in this respect, and some specimens, not however so remarkable for their wit as for their coarseness, have come down to us among his 'jests', printed soon after his death in 1588: he was followed by Kemp, the favourite broad comedian in the time of Shakespeare; but he was probably not so successful in extemporaneous displays as his contemporary of the name of Singer,, a great popular favourite, and the leader of a company of comedians, not at the Globe or Blackfriars, but at some theatre where he was well known and greatly applauded: he was so much admired in this (as we may call it) lawless department of the stage, that in 1600 he was bold enough to print in 4to. a small collection of his merry sallies, under the title of *Quips upon Questions, or a Clown's Conceit upon Occasion offered*. Only a single copy of it has been preserved, and it is certainly one of the most valuable relics of our early stage:¹ we shall therefore subjoin a specimen from it—the whole tract consists of only a comparatively few pages: first we have the 'question' as it was flung upon the stage—then the answer of the player John Singer, and finally what he calls the 'quip' upon the question. One of the audience is supposed to put this 'question', 'What's a clock', and Singer's reply runs as follows:—

' One asks me what's o'clock? thinking indeed
 That I am Jack of Clock-house, and can tell.
 He is a Jack to think so, or to feed
 His humour, as the clapper doth the bell.
 I have a hand, but not a dial I:
 Right it points not, and tongues may lie.

¹ Now in the collection of F. Ouvry, Esq., F.S.A.

'Then by the shadow mark, or by the day,
 And tell me then for certain what's a clock ;
 But that is far more than a number may,
 For all have shadows, but not one that struck :
 How should they know the striking of a bell,
 When those that nothing know can nothing tell ?
 'Go to the Church and see, then tell me more.
 How should that be ? that bidding seemeth odd,
 When he doth hardly enter in the door,
 According to his duty, to serve God.
 Nay, like enough : therefore be ruled by me :
 Wilt thou know what's a clock ? then go and see.

QUIP.

'Worthy of commendation is this elf,
 Who sent to see, bids him go look himself.
 How vain it is, then, to ask what's a clock,
 Of one who for an answer lends a mock.'

It is hardly to be supposed that this or any other printed answer should have been really extemporaneous ; but it and the rest (some hundreds in the tract) were, of course, made up afterwards while Singer was unable to act (the theatres being all closed on account of the plague), and when he sought to procure money by the publication of something like what now and then passed at his theatre.

Another species of extemporaneous performance may also be here noticed. It seems that Elderton, Tarlton, Kemp, and other popular comedians sometimes went to well-frequented taverns and ordinaries, and amused the company by comic effusions which were more or less spontaneous, but full of drollery and absurdity: any humorous nonsense was tolerated on these occasions, and a single specimen by the famous actor and ballad-maker (we can hardly call him poet) Elderton has come down to our time in print : no doubt, it had much

success in the delivery, and in the sale afterwards when printed. Nobody has hitherto taken the slightest notice of this and other attempts of the same kind. To show what they were, and their character, we take a short and decent specimen (for, as may be supposed, the authors were not scrupulous) from this solitary and certainly droll relic ; it is supposed to be delivered by the author in some merry, and not very critical or squeamish company : the humour is not always very intelligible or apparent in our day ; but when such comedians as Elderton, Tarlton, or Kemp were concerned, doubtless grimace and action, added not a little to the comic effect of the undertaking : they were often printed and reprinted, although only a single copy has survived, and it is headed—

‘ A new merry news, as merry as can be,
From Italy, Barbary, Turkie, and Candie ;’

and it opens thus :

‘ As many of wonders rejoice for to heare,
And many good fellows do joy in good cheere ;’

and it proceeds in long or short rhyme, and sometimes in both, to discharge upon the audience any broad and droll nonsense that came into the speaker’s head, occupying half an hour or so in the delivery, according as it was relished by guests in the tap-room, or at the table. A great deal is said in it about drinking and copper noses, and various imaginary persons and characters are introduced in different measures ; the following, in short lines, is a supposed drinking-law of the company :—

‘ Be it therefore enacted and made,
That such as do use the Vintner’s trade,
And shall hereafter see any one passe
Hard by the doore, with copper or brasse
In any part of his nose or face,
He shall fill a quart and hie him apace,

Strait for to greet him,
As soone as they meet him,
With a cup of good wine
To keepe his colour fine,
Upon pain to lose
The custom of the copper nose.'

In this style it proceeds apparently upon any droll topic that came uppermost ; but no abridgment of any portion of it can give a notion of the license and lawlessness of the whole, fun and rhyme being the main constituents of the composition. It was a species of dramatic entertainment, though without a theatre, and it has therefore required notice, but it is impossible to give anything like a correct idea of the whole : we only advert to it, and briefly, because it is a species of performance highly characteristic of the period. As Elderton seems to have commenced this kind of humorous and profitable entertainment, it was followed up by some of his successors in dramatic drollery, after the demise of the individual who seems to have been its inventor. It was rather a tavern than a stage entertainment ; and no doubt often interfered with the musical performances, vocal and instrumental, of which we hear on other authorities.

ON AUDIENCES AT THEATRES.

IT does not appear to have been common for audiences to ride to the play in coaches until late in the reign of James I. According to Stow's *Chronicle*, these vehicles were brought into England in 1564, when they were introduced by Guillian Boonen, who afterwards became coachman to the Queen : the

first he ever made was for the Earl of Rutland ; but 'by little and little they grew usual among the nobility and gentry, and within twenty years began a great trade of coach-making'.¹ To such an excess was it thought that the use of coaches had been carried in 1661, that a bill was brought into the House of Commons, to restrain the trade, but it was rejected on the second reading. In 1613, the watermen of London had presented a petition to James I, praying that players might not be permitted to have a theatre in London or Middlesex, nearer than within four miles of the Thames, in order that the inhabitants might continue, as formerly, to visit the playhouses in Southwark in boats. Not very long afterwards, sedans came into fashion, to the farther injury of those who plied upon the river ; and in R. Brome's *Court Beggar* (acted in 1632, at the Cockpit in Drury Lane), a projector proposes a scheme.

'For building a new theatre or play-house
Upon the Thames, on barges, or flat boats,
To help the watermen out of the loss
They've suffered by *Sedans*, under which project
The subject groans ; when for the ease of one
Two abler men must suffer, and not the price
Or pride of *horse-flesh* or *coach hire* abated.
This shall bring floods of gain to the watermen,
Of which they'll give a fourth of every fare
They shall board at the floating theatre,
Or set a-shore from thence ; the Poets and Actors
Half of their first year's profits.'

Here three modes of going to the theatre by land are noticed—in sedans, on horseback, and in coaches : and in

¹ See Mr. Markland's learned Dissertation 'On Carriages in England' in vol. xx of *Archæologia*, where nearly everything that can be said upon the subject will be found.

the induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, played in 1600, Ben Jonson mentions the ordinary use of 'coaches, hobby-horses, and foot-cloth nags'; but Dekker, in his *Gull's Horn-book*, 1609, only speaks of 'hobby-horses used to ride to a new play'. In 1631, as is detailed in the *Annals of the Stage* (i, 455), the inhabitants of Blackfriars petitioned the Privy Council against the nuisance of so many coaches, which brought auditors to, or carried them away from the theatre there. Two years afterwards, an order was made upon the subject, but it was only temporarily enforced. Taylor's (the Water-poet) *World runs on Wheels* was written expressly against the use of coaches; and he notices the manner in which Blackfriars was 'dammed up' by them. In Shakerly Marmyon's *Fine Companion* (printed in 1633, and played at Salisbury Court), coaches to convey persons to and from playhouses are twice mentioned.

New plays seem always to have attracted large audiences. Dekker, in his *News from Hell*, 1606, observes, 'it was a comedy to see what a crowding, as if it had been at a new play, there was upon the Acherontic strand'; and one of the characters in Marmyon's *Fine Companion* says, 'a new play, and a gentleman in a new suit, claim the same privilege—at their first presentment their estimation is double'. The behaviour of an audience, on such an occasion, is well described by Ben Jonson, the mirror of manners, in his *Case is Altered*, acted at Blackfriars about 1599:—'But the sport (says Valentine, act ii, scene 4), is, at a new play, to observe the sway, and variety of opinion that passeth it. A man shall have such a confused mixture of judgment poured out in the throng there, as ridiculous as laughter itself. One says, he likes not the writing, another likes not the plot, another not the playing: and sometimes a fellow that comes not there past once in five years, at a Parliament time or so, will be as

deep mired in censuring as the best, and swear by God's foot he would never stir his foot to see a hundred such as that is.' The conduct of 'capricious gallants', on the production of a new play, is thus subsequently noticed by the same character:—'They have taken such a habit of dislike in all things, that they will approve nothing, be it never so conceited or elaborate; but sit dispersed, making faces and spitting, wagging their upright ears, and cry *Filthy, filthy!* simply uttering their own condition, and using their wryed countenances, instead of a vice, to turn the good aspects of all that shall sit near them from what they behold.'

The same author, in his *Devil is an Ass*, played in 1616, pleasantly and pointedly touches the demeanour of the young men who used to sit upon the stage, and display their fine suits there. Fitzdottrell tells his wife:—

'Here is a cloak cost fifty pounds, wife,
Which I can sell for thirty, when I have seen
All London in it, and London has seen me.
To-day I go to the Blackfriars playhouse,
Sit in the view, salute all my acquaintance,
Rise up between the acts, let fall my cloak,
Publish a handsome man, and a rich suit;
And that's a special end why we go thither,
All that pretend to stand for't on the stage:
The ladies ask, who's that? for they do come
To see us, love, as we do to see them.'

Another dramatist, Lewis Sharp, who wrote *The Noble Stranger*, 1640, and in it laughed a little at the expense of Ben Jonson, thus makes Pupillus, one of his characters, abuse the fastidiousness and discordant dispositions of audiences.—'Oh, that I were in a playhouse! I would tell the whole audience their pitiful, heretical, critical humours. Let a man, striving to enrich his labours, make himself as poor as a

broken citizen, that dares not so much as show the tips on 's horns, yet will these people cry it down, they know not why.'

Davenant's *Unfortunate Lovers* was acted in 1643, and in the prologue the author complains of the greater fastidiousness of audiences at that date than formerly: he tells them:—

'Ten times more wit, than was allow'd
Your silly ancestors in twenty year,
Y' expect should in two hours be given here :
For they, he swears, to the theatre would come
Ere they had din'd, to take up the best room ;
There sit on benches, not adorn'd with mats,
And graciously did vail their high-crown'd hats
To every half-dress'd player, as he still
Through the hangings peep'd to see how the house did fill.
Good easy-judging souls ! with what delight
They would expect a jig or target-fight,
A furious tale of Troy, which they ne'er thought
Was weakly written, so 'twere strongly fought.'

Davenant here, perhaps, alludes to times antecedent even to those when Ben Jonson, in 1599, complained how difficult it was to satisfy audiences.

It would be easy, from the productions of puritanical opponents of the stage, Gosson, Northbrooke, Stubbes, Rankin,¹ Reynolds, Green,² or Prynne, to quote passages to show that our old playhouses, besides the respectable part of the audience, were frequented by the lowest and most debauched classes of society, for the purposes of vice and profligacy. Gosson, in his *School of Abuse*, 1579, asserts that 'in the playhouses in London it is the fashion of youths to go first into the yard, and to carry their eye through every gallery; then,

¹ Author of the *Mirror of Monsters*, 4to, 1587.

² J. G[reen] wrote *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors*, 1615, 4to. It was in answer to Heywood's tract of 1612.

like unto ravens, where they spy carrion thither they fly, and press as near to the fairest as they can'. We know of no account so minute and circumstantial of the manner in which women of the town frequented theatres about this date, as in Thomas Cranley's rare poem called *Amanda*, published in 1635:¹ he wrote it while a prisoner in the King's Bench, and speaks, apparently, from his own experience. He is describing the habits and artifices of a prostitute:.

'The places thou dost usually frequent
Is to some playhouse in an afternoon,
And for no other meaning and intent
But to get company to sup with soon;
More changeable and wavering than the moon,
And with thy wanton looks attracting to thee
The amorous spectators for to woo thee.

'Thither thou com'st in several forms and shapes
To make thee still a stranger to the place,
And train new lovers, like young birds, to scrapes;
And by thy habit so to change thy face:
At this time plain, to-morrow all in lace:
Now in the richest colours may be had;
The next day all in mourning, black and sad.

'In a stuff waistcoat and a peticoat,
Like to a chamber-maid thou com'st to-day:
The next day after thou dost change thy note;
Then like a country wench thou com'st in grey,
And sittest like a stranger at the play:
To-morrow after that, thou comest then
In the neat habit of a citizen.

¹ He was a friend of George Wither, and has some lines, signed Tho. C., before *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, 1613. Wither also addresses an Epigram to him as 'his dear friend Master Thomas Cranly', which is

'The next time rushing in thy silken weeds
 Embroider'd, lac'd, perfum'd, in glittering show ;
 So that thy look an admiration breeds,
 Rich like a lady and attended so :
 As brave as any countess dost thou go.
 Thus Proteus-like strange shapes thou vent'rest on
 And changest hue with theameleon.'¹

The custom of women of the town to entice young men to sup with them at taverns after the play, is recorded by Glapthorne in his amusing comedy *Wit in a Constable*, 1640, where Valentine declares—

'We are
 Gentlemen, ladies ; and no city foremen,

printed at the end of the *Abuses Stript and Whipt*. It does not appear on what account Cranly was imprisoned, but he was first in the Fleet and afterwards in the King's Bench—probably for debt.

¹ There is no more detailed and highly finished picture of the habits, expedients, and peculiarities of wantons at this period than in the poem from which the foregoing quotation is made. Among other things, describing the furniture, etc., of the lodging of a prostitute, Cranley gives the following account of her library, mentioning by name Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, Beaumont's *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*, and Marston's *Pygmalion's Image*:—

'And then a heap of bookes of thy devotion
 Lying upon a shelf close underneath,
 Which thou more think'st upon than on thy death ;
 They are not prayers of a grieved soul
 That with repentance doth his sins condole ;
 'But amorous pamphlets, that best like thine eyes,
 And songs of love and sonnets exquisite.
 Among these *Venus and Adonis* lies,
 With *Salmacis* and her *Hermaphrodite* :
Pygmalion's there, with his transform'd delight,
 And many merry comedies with this,
 Where the *Athenian Phryne* acted is.'

That never dare be vent'rous on a beauty,
Unless when wenches take them up at plays,
To entice them at the next licentious tavern
To spend a supper on them.'

This is the practice referred to in the first stanza of the preceding extract from Cranley's *Amanda*. It will be concluded that pick-pockets also frequented the crowded play-houses. That unique tract Kemp's *Nine Days' Wonder*, 1600,¹ giving an account of his dancing a morris from London to Norwich, makes mention of a mode of treating cut-purses when they were detected at theatres, which we find nowhere else adverted to by any writer: they were seized and tied to a post on the stage, exposed to the gaze and recognition of the whole audience. It seems that two of these artists followed Kemp's progress, in order to profit by the crowd that attended him, and being taken they challenged acquaintance with the merry morris-dancer, and asserted that they had laid wagers about the completion of his undertaking: 'Whereupon (says Kemp, in his droll narrative), the officers bringing them to my inn, I justly denied their acquaintance, saving that I remembered one of them to be a noted cut-purse, such a one as we tie to a post on our stage for all people to wonder at, when at a play they are taken pilfering.'

The following laughable anecdote of an expedient, resorted to by a gentleman who had been robbed at a play, is copied from a MS. in the British Museum:—²

'A gentleman at a play sat by a fellow that he strongly suspected for a cut-purse; and for the probation of him took occasion to draw out his purse, and put it up so carelessly as it dangled down (but his eye watched it strictly with a glance), and he bent his discourse

¹ Among Burton's books in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

² *Harleian MSS.*, No. 6395.

another way ; which his suspected neighbour observing, upon his fair opportunity exercised his craft, and having got his booty began to remove away, which the gentleman noticing instantly draws his knife and whips off one of his ears, and vowed he would have something for his money. The cut-purse began to swear, and stamp, and threaten : "Nay, go to, Sirrah (says the other), be quiet, I'll offer you fair : give me my purse again, here's your ear. Take it and begone."

Whatever might be the origin of this joke, it is certainly considerably older than the date when the MS. in the Harleian Collection was written, and Marlow employed it as a comic dramatic incident in his *Massacre at Paris*.

Playhouses were most frequented in term time, for then the town was fullest, and then it was that new plays were often brought out. Upon this point many authorities might be quoted, and among them J. Stephens's *Essays and Characters*, 1615, and Wye Saltonstall's *Picturæ Loquentes*, 1631. In *Histriomastix*, 1610, Post-haste, the poet, makes a song *extempore*, which contains various dramatic allusions, and ends thus to our present purpose.

' Oh delicate wine, with thy power so divine,
Full of ravishing sweet inspiration !
Yet a verse may run clear, that is tapp'd out of beer,
Especially in the vacation.

' But when the term comes, that with trumpets and drums
Our playhouses ring in confusion ;
Then Bacchus me murder, but rime we no further :
Some sack, now, upon the conclusion.'

The visitors of our old theatres used to amuse themselves with reading, playing at cards, drinking, and smoking before or during the performance. It has been already shown that pamphlets were sold at the doors of playhouses to attract

purchasers as they went in, and Fitzgeoffrey, H. Parrot, and other authors allude to this custom, in passages we have extracted or mentioned. Dekker, in his *Gull's Horn-book*, 1609, tells his hero, whom he supposes to be sitting on the stage, 'before the play begins fall to cards', and whether he win or lose, he is directed to tear some of the cards and to throw them about just before the entrance of the prologue. Stephen Gosson, in his *School of Abuse*, 1579, informs us that the young men of his day treated the ladies with apples,¹ and Fitzgeoffrey mentions that they were cried in the theatres—

' Had fate fore-read me in a crowd to die,
To be made adder-deaf with pippin-cry.'²

Nut-cracking was also a favourite amusement of the lower class of spectators, to the great annoyance of poets and players; and in the prologue 'for the Court' before his *Staple of News*, Ben Jonson speaks of—

' The vulgar sort
Of nut-crackers, who only come for sight.'

It is of course unnecessary to establish that other fruits were sold in playhouses at their respective seasons.

The consumption of tobacco in theatres is mentioned by innumerable authorities, but it should seem from a line in the epigrams of Sir J. Davies and Christopher Marlow, printed about 1598, that at that period it was a service of some danger, and was generally objected to:—

' He dares to take Tobacco on the stage ;'

but the practice very soon became common, for two years afterwards, one of the boy-actors in the induction to *Cynthia's*

¹ Hentzer's *Travels in England* in 1598, may be quoted to the same effect:—'In these theatres fruits, such as apples, pears, and nuts, according to the season, are carried about to be sold, as well as ale and wine.'

² *Notes from the Blackfriars*, 1620.

Revels, imitating a gallant supposed to be sitting on the stage, speaks of having his 'three sorts of tobacco in his pocket, and his light by him'.—Dekker, in 1609, tells his gallant to 'get his match lighted'; and in *The Scornful Lady*, 1616, Captains of Gallyfoists are ridiculed, who only 'wear swords to reach fire at a play', for the purpose of lighting their pipes. Tobacco was freely sold at the playhouse, and in *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614, Ben Jonson talks of those who 'accommodate gentlemen with tobacco at our theatres'.¹ In 1602, when Dekker printed his *Satiromastix*, ladies sometimes smoked: Asinius Bubo, offering his pipe, observes:—'Tis at your service gallants, and the tobacco too: 'tis right pudding, I can tell you: a lady or two took a pipe full or two at my hands, and praised it 'fore the heavens.' Prynne states that in his time, instead of apples, ladies were sometimes 'offered the tobacco-pipe', at theatres.²

Ben Jonson, Webster, Beaumont and Fletcher, Nabbes, and various other dramatists, allude to memorandum-books, then called writing-tables or table-books, used by auditors to note down jests in plays for conversational retail, or passages for malicious criticism.

It is needless to go into proof that audiences in our old theatres expressed their approbation or disapprobation in much the same manner as at present, by clapping of hands, exclamations, hisses, groans, and the imitation of the mewing of cats:—'Signor Snuff (says Marston in the induction to his *What you Will*, 1607), Monsieur Mew, and Cavaliero Blirt, are three of the most to be feared auditors,' and farther on he asks if the poet's resolve shall be

'Struck through with a blirt

Of a goose breath?'

¹ See also *The Actor's Remonstrance*, 1643, 4to.

² *Histriomastix*, 1633, marginal note to p. 363.

so that even the technical phrase of 'treating an actor with goose' was understood then as well as at present.

Edmund Gayton¹ gives the following singular and minute account of the behaviour of audiences at some of the public theatres, especially at Shrovetide and holiday time, mentioning several well-known dramatic performances, and others that have perished.

'Men come not to study at a playhouse, but love such expressions and passages which with ease insinuate themselves into their capacities. *Lingua*, that learned comedy of the contention betwixt the five senses for the superiority, is not to be prostituted to the common stage, but it is only proper for an academy: to bring them *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, Green's *Tu Quoque*, *The Devil of Edmonton*, and the like; or if it be on holidays, when Sailors, Watermen, Shoemakers, Butchers, and Apprentices are at leisure, then it is good policy to amaze those violent spirits with some tearing tragedy full of fights and skirmishes, as the *Guelphs and Ghibbelines*, *Greeks and Trojans*, or *The Three London Apprentices*; which commonly ends in six acts, the spectators frequently mounting the stage, and making a more bloody catastrophe among themselves than the players did. I have known upon one of these festivals, but especially at Shrovetide, where the players have been appointed, notwithstanding their bills to the contrary, to act what the major part of the company had a mind to; sometimes *Tamurlaine*, sometimes *Jugurth*, sometimes *The Jew of Malta*, and sometimes parts of all these; and at last, none of the three taking, they were forced to undress and put off their tragic habits, and conclude the day with *The Merry Milkmaids*. And unless this were done, and the popular humour satisfied, as sometimes it so fortune that the players were refractory, the benches, the tiles, the laths, the stones, oranges, apples, nuts, flew about most liberally; and as there were mechanics of all professions, who fell every one to his own trade, and dissolved an house in an instant, and made a ruin of a stately fabric. It was not then the most mimical nor fighting man,

¹ *Festivous Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 271.

Fowler nor Andrew Cane, could pacify : prologues nor epilogues would prevail ; the devil and the fool were quite out of favour : nothing but noise and tumult fills the house, until a cog take them, and then to the bawdy-houses and reform them ; and instantly to the Bank-side, where the poor bears must conclude the riot and fight twenty dogs at a time, beside the butchers which sometimes fell into the service : this performed, and the horse and jackanapes for a jig, they had sport enough that day for nothing.'

ON THE PAYMENT OF AUTHORS.

THE most circumstantial information, regarding the extent to, and the mode in, which our ancient dramatic poets were to be paid, is to be found in the *Diary* and other manuscripts formerly belonging to Philip Henslowe, and for many years preserved at Dulwich College, from whence they were borrowed by Malone. Had he lived, they would all doubtless have been punctually restored ; but after his decease the mutilated *Diary* only was returned, and the Master and Fellows claimed a few other papers at the sale of Malone's books. By far the most valuable documents, consisting of original letters from dramatic poets, with whom Henslowe for many years was engaged, and separate accounts, were missing, and have never been recovered. It is fortunate, therefore, that Malone preserved copies of many of them, which were published in a very undigested manner, in the third and twenty-first volumes of the last edition of Shakespeare, prepared by Boswell in 1821. Malone, as has been elsewhere established, by no means exhausted the intelligence furnished by Henslowe's *Diary*, and a recent examination of the extant fragment has supplied various additional particulars.

It appears from some of the letters of Robert Daborne (the writer of several plays) and from certain 'Articles of Oppression', drawn up against the old manager, in 1614, by the Princess Elizabeth's servants, that Henslowe acted in a middle capacity, as a sort of broker between players and authors; and one of the items of charge against him was, that the company 'had paid him for play-books 200*l.*, or thereabouts, and yet he denied to give them the copies of any of them'.

Before the year 1600, the price paid by Henslowe for a new play never exceeded 8*l.*: this sum was given to Robert Wilson and William Haughton for a production, the name of which is not inserted in the *Diary*. The date of this transaction is November 1599; but a little earlier, viz., in August 1598, he had given Ben Jonson, Henry Porter, and Henry Chettle, only 6*l.*¹ 'in full payment' for a play, called *Hot Anger soon Cold*; and in the year preceding, we meet with the following memorandum:—

'Lent unto the company to pay Drayton, and Dyckers, and Chettell ther full payment for the booke called *the fames wares of henry the fyrste and the prynce of walles* [the Famous Wars of Henry the First and the Prince of Wales] the some of 4*l.*'

In the same year Dekker obtained 5*l.* for his *Triplicity of Cuckolds*, and only 4*l.* for *Phaeton*; so that prior to 1599, the price seems to have varied according to circumstances with which we are now unacquainted. About 1600, perhaps in consequence of the exertions of rival companies, the price for a play seems to have been raised: on the 22nd of June 1602, we find an entry by Henslowe of 10*l.* to Ben Jonson, 'in earnest of a book called *Richard Crookback*, and for additions

¹ In a passage, already quoted from *The Defence of Coneycatching*, 1592, where an attack is made upon Robert Greene, it is said that the price of a play was then 20 nobles, or 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

to *Feronimo*'; while on the 25th of September 1601, he had already been paid 2*l.* 'for writings his additions in *Feronimo*'; so that in the whole he received as much as had been the price of two new plays 'in earnest' of one new one, and for additions to an old one, *The Spanish Tragedy*. At this date it was very customary also for authors to be paid money beforehand, in order to secure a promised production,—a circumstance which frequently renders it very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to ascertain the exact sum paid for any one piece. Thus, in the autumn of 1599, Henslowe seems to have been very desirous of obtaining a play from Marston, who was notorious on account of the recent publication of his Satires, and the old manager therefore paid him 2*l.* in hand, before he had even heard the title of the play, or well knew the name of the author he was endeavouring to secure for his theatre. Sometimes it was specified that the money received was only in part payment of the whole sum; and in the entry regarding Drayton's *William Longsword*, it is stated that the cost of the play, when complete, was to be 6*l.* In other instances the entire amount stipulated is not inserted, as in the following item, which (excepting the signatures of Haughton and Dekker) stands in Henslowe's *Diary* in the handwriting of Chettle—

'Received in earnest of *patient Grissell*, by us, Thomas Dekker, Hen. Chettle, and William Hawton, the summe of 3*l.* of good and lawfull money, by a note sent from Mr. Robt. Shaw, the 19th of December 1599.

By me HENRY CHETTLE.

W. HAUGHTON.

THOMAS DEKKER.'

Advances were not always made to secure dramatic compositions, but not unfrequently to relieve the wants of poets, who applied to Henslowe in their distresses; and it is

evident, from the letters of Daborne, that the old manager did not scruple to avail himself of an author's poverty, in order to make a more advantageous bargain. Daborne was a needy man, with a pending law-suit, and the sums he obtained for plays were uncertain and disproportionate: all his letters are very urgent in the solicitation of money upon plays in hand, to show his progress in which, Daborne was often obliged to send Henslowe the MS. as he proceeded, and in one instance, he furnished him even with the rough draft of the last scene of a play, in order to procure an immediate advance.

Ben Jonson alludes to the practice of paying poets beforehand, in order to secure their services; in his *Poetaster*, acted in 1601, where Tucce, addressing Histrio, says:— 'Rascal! to him—cherish his muse—go; thou hast forty—forty shillings I mean, stinkard: give him *in earnest*, do. He shall write for thee, slave!' and the player afterwards gives Minos 25s. 'in earnest', which was all the money he then had about him.

Nathaniel Field, who acted in the *Poetaster* as one of the Children of the Chapel, and who published his *Woman is a Weathercock* in 1612, could hardly have begun to write before 1609 or 1610: he had a good deal of correspondence with Henslowe, and some of the letters connect him indisputably with Massinger, a point denied by Isaac Reed before they were discovered.¹ In a communication, without date, he desires Henslowe, on his own behalf, and on behalf of some others in conjunction with whom he was engaged in writing a play (the title of which is not inserted), to let them have 10*l.* 'in hand': in another note, also without date, he speaks of '10*l.* more at least to be received of you for *the play*'. Daborne usually adds dates to his letters, and on the 28th of March 1613, he tells the manager that he desires him to 'disburse but 12*l.* a-play

¹ See *Dodsley's Old Plays* by Reed, edition 1780, vol. xii, p. 350.

till they be played'. By a memorandum of agreement between Henslowe and Daborne of the 17th of April 1613, the latter engages to furnish a tragedy to be called *Machiavel and the Devil*, for 20*l.*; and on the 19th of May following, he acknowledges the receipt of 16*l.* of that sum. On the 25th of June 1613, he informs Henslowe that he can obtain 25*l.* for his *Arraignment of London*. Perhaps these increased prices were to be given for the copy without any ulterior advantage to the author; for, on the 3rd of August 1613, Daborne stipulates for 'but 12*l.*, and the overplus of the second day', adding 'that from 20*l.* he had come to 12*l.*': it is to be remarked also that at this date he was in great want, and supplicated Henslowe 'not to forsake him in his extremity'. In December, of the same year, we find Daborne entreating 10*l.* for a play, and telling Henslowe 'that he will be able to get 20*l.* for it from the company'; showing the manner in which Henslowe dealt in these commodities between the actors and authors, both of whom he seems to have long had very much in his power. The competition of other companies, and particularly of 'the King's men', who played at the Globe, is frequently alluded to in these documents.

Two, three, four, or even more authors were now and then engaged upon the same production at the same time, perhaps in order to bring it out with peculiar dispatch; and it is to be concluded that the division of the sum given for it was regulated among themselves. It does not, however, by any means follow that the poets, whose names have come down to us united on the same title-page, or even perhaps in the same entry in Henslowe's *Diary*, were contemporaneously employed upon a play. It was the constant practice for dramatic authors to make additions to, and alterations in, older plays on their revival, and this duty formed a considerable source of emolument. Ben Jonson's additions to *The*

Spanish Tragedy have been already noticed: 4*l.* was the highest sum ever paid by Henslowe for 'additions', and 1*l.* the lowest: Dekker, Rowley, Heywood, Chettle, and others, were frequently employed in this manner, and they were paid according to the extent and nature of their alterations. On the revival of old pieces, or on their performance at Court, Henslowe was in the habit of having new prologues and epilogues written for them; and it will be observed, by the two following quotations from his *Diary*, that 5*s.* was the sum he usually paid for a prologue and epilogue—

'14 December 1602, for a prol. and epil. for the playe of *Bacon*, for the Corte, 5*s.*'

'29 December 1602, paid Henry Chettle for a prol. and epil., for the Corte, 5*s.*'

Malone observes:—'As it was a general practice in the time of Shakespeare to sell the copy of the play to the theatre, I imagine, in such cases, the author derived no other advantage from his piece than what arose from the sale of it.'¹ It is evident, however, that sometimes ulterior advantages were also stipulated for, beyond the sum given in the first instance. Daborne, as we have just seen, bargains with Henslowe for '12*l.* and the overplus of the second day', which overplus, perhaps, meant what was received at the doors over and above the expenses of the house, including Henslowe's claim, whatever that might be. This might be matter of special agreement, and when such a sum as 20*l.* was given for a play, 'the overplus of the second day' might not belong to the author.

That it was the custom of old for dramatists to have an interest in one of the days of performance, may be established by various other authorities. Davenant, in his *Playhouse to be Let*, written about 1673, tells us,

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 157.

‘ There is an old tradition,
That in the times of mighty *Tamburlaine*,
Of conjuring *Faustus*, and the *Beauchamps bold*,
You poets used to have a *second day*.’

The three plays here mentioned were written before 1600, two of them before 1593,¹ and the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels from 1622 to 1673, agrees with Davenant’s ‘tradition’ and Daborne’s stipulation. Jasper Mayne, in the prologue to *The City Match*, performed in 1639, gives similar evidence:—

‘ He’s one whose unbought muse did never fear
An empty *second day*, or a thin share.’

But to these authorities are to be opposed some lines in the prologue to Dekker’s *If it be not good, the Devil is in it*, 1612, which is the oldest printed testimony we have discovered on the subject :

‘ It is not praise is sought for now, but pence,
Though dropp’d from greasy-apron audience.
Clapp’d may he be with thunder, that plucks bays
With such foul hands, and with squint eyes doth gaze
On Pallas’ shield, not caring (so he gains
A cramm’d *third day*) what filth drops from his brains.’

¹ By Marlow. The third, *The Bold Beauchamps*, according to the author of the false *Second part of Hudibras*, 12mo, 1663, canto i, was the work of Heywood:—

‘ The ancient poet, Heywood, draws
From ancestors of these his laws
Of drama- to fill up each scene
With soldiers good, to please plebean ;
And in those famous stories told
The Grecian wars and *Beauchamps bold*.’

‘ The Grecian wars’ may allude to the same piece which Gayton, in a quotation on a preceding page, calls *Greeks and Trojans*; coupling it with *The Three London Apprentices*, undoubtedly Heywood’s play.

The practice might vary according to the popularity of the poet, and the terms he was able to make ; and in the dedication of the same play, to his 'loving and loved friends and fellows, the Queen's Majesty's servants', Dekker complains that hitherto he had been underpaid : his words are—'a sign the world hath an evil ear, when no music is good unless it strike up for nothing : I have sung so ; but will no more'. Sir John Denham, in the prologue to his *Sophy*, acted at Blackfriars in 1642, speaks of the second and third day, as belonging to the poet ; which confirms, in some degree, the conjecture, that whether the one or the other should be given to the author was matter of distinct arrangement, and not of settled custom :—

'Gentlemen, if you dislike the play,
Pray make no words on't, 'till the *second day*
Or *third* be past.'

At one period, writing for the stage seems to have become, in a degree, fashionable ; and another description of dramatists are alluded to by some of our old poets—those who did not receive money for, but who paid money with, their plays, in order to procure them to be acted. R. Brome mentions them in his *Court Beggar*, both in the prologue and epilogue, as well as in the body of his play, performed in 1632 : in the prologue, in these terms :

'Yet you to him your favours may express
As well as unto those, whose forwardness
Makes them your creatures thought, who in a way
To purchase fame, *give money with their play*.'

In act ii, he proposes that a piece of this kind shall, nevertheless, be rejected, unless the author become bound that it shall do 'true and faithful service for a whole term'; and in the epilogue, which is in prose, he charges these 'right wor-

shipful poets' with claiming to have made their 'interludes' themselves, 'when, for aught you know, they bought them of university scholars'.

Shirley, in his *Witty Fair One*, 1633, act iv, tells us that these 'university scholars' had tried in vain to get their plays performed, even with the inducement of giving money with them; at least, such seems to be the inference from the passage. Violetta observes, 'We have excellent poets in town, they say'; to which Sir Nicholas replies, with some astonishment, 'I'th' town? what makes so many scholars, then, come from Oxford and Cambridge, with dossers full of lamentable tragedies and ridiculous comedies, which they might here vent to the players, but they will take no money for them'. He seems to mean, either that the players will not consent to take money for acting them, or he speaks ironically, that the scholars 'will take no money for them', because they can prevail upon none of the companies to buy them.

ON THE PAYMENT OF ACTORS.

THE performers at our earlier theatres were distinguished into whole sharers, three-quarter sharers, half sharers, and hired men.

Into how many shares the receipts at the doors were divided, in any instance, does not appear; and, doubtless, it depended upon the number of persons of which a company consisted, and other circumstances. Malone 'suspected'¹ that the money taken was separated into forty portions, and that the receipts at the Globe or Blackfriars did not usually amount to more than

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 170.

9*l.* on each performance: he assigns fifteen of the forty shares to the housekeepers or proprietors, and twenty-two shares to the actors, leaving three shares to be applied to the purchase of new plays. His notion of the nightly receipts was founded upon the accounts of Sir Henry Herbert, which, on this point, do not begin earlier than the year 1628. The King's players, performing in the summer at the Globe, and in the winter at the Blackfriars, allowed him a benefit at each theatre for five years and a half: the highest amount he netted was in the first year of this bargain, when he received 17*l.* 10*s.*; and the lowest 1*l.* 5*s.*; but the average of the five years and a half was 8*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* If the clear profits at these houses were no more, Henslowe seems to have taken to himself a very large proportion of the receipts at the Rose and Newington theatres: in his entries in the MS. at Dulwich College, from 1591 to 1597, he often makes his share amount to between 3*l.* and 4*l.*, and once to 6*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* Marlow's *Few of Malta* produced him 4*l.* as his proportion of the money taken on the 12th June 1594, when it was by no means a new play; and a piece, called *Woman hard to Please*, not now known, brought him the sum already mentioned—6*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* Malone, however, imagines (for we are destitute of any clear account upon the point) that on remarkable occasions the whole money taken at the doors of the Globe or Blackfriars might amount to about 20*l.*¹

Sharers, half-sharers, and hired men, are mentioned in the old satirical play, *Histrionastix*, 1610. In one scene, the dissolute performers having been arrested by soldiers, one of the latter exclaims, 'Come on, players! now we are the sharers and you the hired men'; and in another scene, Clout, one of

¹ The author of *The Actor's Remonstrance*, 1643, says that the 'Housekeepers' shared 'ten, twenty, nay, thirty shillings' on each night of performance, which they put into 'their large and well-stuffed pockets'.

the characters, rejects with some indignation the offer of 'half a share'. In the same production, we also meet with the term 'master-sharers': they are spoken of by an officer as more substantial men:—'You that are master-sharers must provide you your own purses.'

Some of the actors, master-sharers, were also proprietors of more shares than one. Gamaliel Ratsey, in that rare tract, called *Ratseis Ghost* (printed about 1606), knights the principal performer of a company by the title of 'Sir Three-shares and a half'; and Tucca, in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster* (played in 1601), addressing Histrio, observes, 'Commend me to Seven shares and a half', as if some individual, at that period, had engrossed that large proportion. Shakespeare, in *Hamlet*, speaks of 'a whole share', as a source of no contemptible emolument, and of the owner of it as a person filling no inferior station in 'a cry of players'. In *Northward Ho!* also, a sharer is noticed with respect: Bellamont, the poet, enters and tells his servant, 'Sirrah, I'll speak with none': on which the servant asks—'Not a player?' and his master replies:

'No—though a sharer bawl :
I'll speak with none, although it be the mouth
Of the big company.'

Three-quarter sharers are mentioned in *The Ant and the Nightingale*, 1604 (attributed to Middleton), where he says, 'the Ant began to stalk like a three-quarter sharer'. In the complaint against Henslowe, drawn up by Joseph Taylor and other players in 1614, it is mentioned that some who had been only 'three-quarter sharers' had advanced themselves to whole sharers.

The value of a share in any particular company would depend upon the number of subdivisions, upon the popularity of the body, upon the stock-plays belonging to it, upon the

extent of its wardrobe, and the nature of its properties. Upon this point we are not wholly without information in Henslowe's *Diary*, although Malone failed to discover it. Philip Henslowe had a relation named Francis Henslowe, who seems to have been an actor, and who, in 1593, bought a share in the company of the Queen's players, and paid 15*l.* for it: it is to be observed, however, that at this date they 'broke and went into the country', most likely on account of the prevalence of the plague in London, so that the price of a share might then be lower than under more favourable circumstances. Another entry relates to the same person in 1595, when he bought half a share in some other company, not named, for 9*l.*

The 'hired men' were paid, like ordinary actors of the present day, by the week, having no other interest in the success of the theatre to which they belonged, than the prospect of the continuance of their salaries. Malone was of opinion that the stipend of a hired man was always 5*s.* per week for the first year, and 6*s.* 8*d.* per week for the second year;¹ and he cited a memorandum by Henslowe, in which he agreed to give that sum to Thomas Hearne.² If he had examined Henslowe's *Diary* more accurately, he would have seen that hired men were paid, as it was natural that they should be, according to the value of their services, and therefore that the sum often varied.

The subsequent item establishes that Richard Alleyn, per-

¹ In the time of Gosson, the pay of a hireling seems to have been 6*s.* a week; and we are led to infer that such was then the lowest sum paid to performers of that class: he says, 'Overlashing in apparel is so common a fault, that the very hyerlings of some of our players, which stand at reversion of six shillings by the week, jet under gentlemen's noses in sutes of silke.'—*Schoole of Abuse*, 1579.

² *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 322.

haps the brother, or some more distant relation, to Edward Alleyn, was one of the hired men at Henslowe's theatre : in 1598 we read—

'Mem. that this 25 of marche 1598 Richard Alleyne came and bownde hime sealfe unto me for ij yeares, in and a sumsett as a hiered servant, with ij syngell pence, and to conteneue frome the daye above written unto the eand and tearme of ij yeares : yf he do not performe this covenant, then he to forfeite for the breach of yt fortye powndes, and wittnes to this

WM BORNE.

THOMAS DOWTON.

GABRIEL SPENCER. ROBARTE SHAWE.

RICHARD JONNES.'

William Borne, who was also called William Bird, was himself hired on 10th August 1597. Thomas Heywood, who had written for the manager as early as 1596, on the 25th March 1598, covenanted to play at his house only, for two years, but the amount of his wages is not inserted. It is very possible that some of the smaller sharers entered into an agreement of this kind, for greater security to the manager, lest more advantageous offers should be made to them by a rival company. Sharers had sometimes also weekly payments ; and Henslowe stipulated to give Nathaniel Field, when a sharer, 6s. per week additional out of his own receipts. Field became a distinguished performer, and it is very probable that the share he possessed did not adequately remunerate him for his exertions.

We may infer from a passage in Chapman's *May Day*, 1611, act ii, scene i, that the performers of female characters were paid more than ordinary actors : Quintiliano, speaking of Lionel, a supposed page, says, 'Afore heaven, 'tis a sweet fac'd child : methinks he would shew well in woman's attire—and *he took her by the lily white hand, and laid her upon a bed.*¹—I'll help thee to three crownes a-week for him, an she can

¹ Obviously a passage quoted from some popular ballad.

act well.' Three crowns a-week was more than was paid to any of the hired men mentioned by Henslowe.

The hired men, or hirelings, were under the control of the proprietors or lessees of the theatres: they were usually paid by them, and it was made a matter of complaint against Henslowe, in February 1614, when a dispute arose between him and the company, that he had weakened their numbers by suddenly withdrawing four hired men, although, having agreed to pay their weekly stipends out of the money he derived from the galleries, he had notwithstanding thrown the expense upon the sharers.

Among the curious documents found by Malone at Dulwich College, was one which throws light on the stipulations entered into by actors, on condition that they were allowed a share of the proceeds of the theatre.

Henslowe and Meade having rebuilt Paris Garden in 1613, as a playhouse, and as a place where bears, etc., were to be baited, on the 7th of April 1614, entered into what are now technically called 'articles' with Robert Dawes to play there for three years, 'for and at the rate of one whole share, according to the custom of players'; and Dawes, on his part, covenanted to attend all rehearsals or forfeit twelve-pence—to be ready dressed to begin the play at three in the afternoon, 'unless by six of the company he shall be licensed to the contrary', or forfeit 3s.—if he 'shall happen to be overcome with drink by the judgment of four of the company' when he ought to be fit to play, to forfeit 10s.—and if he fail to come to play, 'having no licence or just excuse of sickness', to forfeit 20s. From this document it also appears that Henslowe and Meade were to be entitled to one moiety of the money 'received at the galleries and 'tiring-house' in consideration of their ownership of the theatre, and to the other moiety on account of the debt due from the company for the stock of apparel furnished, or

to be furnished, until the whole should be paid off. There is also in the agreement a singular clause, showing in what way the stock of apparel was sometimes diminished : it is provided, that if Dawes quit the theatre with any part of the manager's dresses or property, or if he be privy to any such misconduct in others, he shall forfeit 40*l.*—a very heavy penalty, proving how strictly it was then necessary to guard against the plundering of the wardrobe.

From the will of Thomas Pope, a celebrated actor, dated 20th of July 1603,¹ we learn that he owned shares in two different and unconnected theatres at the same time, and, perhaps, played at both, viz., the Globe and Curtain. John Underwood, as appears by his will, was 'a fellow sharer' in the Globe, Blackfriars, and Curtain Theatres. As Pope does not mention his shares in the Blackfriars playhouse, perhaps the sharers in the Globe were not necessarily sharers in the private theatre connected with it.

Another source of emolument to performers of eminence was the articling of apprentices, who were most likely engaged by the companies to which their masters belonged, and their earnings, or a certain proportion of them, appropriated to those masters. Such is precisely the case in our own day with singing masters, to whom young persons, intended for the vocal department of our stage, are bound for instruction. According to Henslowe's papers, William Augustine, a player, had an apprentice of the name of James Bristow ; and in December 1597, Henslowe bought the boy's services from his master for 8*l.* : the entry is this : —

'Bowght my boye Jeames Brystow, of William Augusten, player, the 18th of desember 1597, for viij*l.*

Samuel Gilburne, one of the actors in Shakespeare's plays,

¹ Published by Chalmers, *Suppl. Apol.*, 162.

was articulated to Augustine Phillippes, whose name stands fourth in the licence of King James, in 1603 : in his will, dated May 4th, 1605, Gilburne is called by Phillippes his 'late apprentice'. At the time of his death, in the same month in which his will bears date, James Sands was his apprentice. In the will of Nicholas Tooley, dated June 3rd, 1623, it is stated that he had been apprenticed to the celebrated Richard Burbage.

The performance of plays at Court, from a very early date, seems to have been a considerable source of emolument to players. Prior to the reign of Elizabeth, the rewards for such services varied considerably ; but from the year 1562 to 1574, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* were allowed for each play : after this date, an addition of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, 'by way of her Majesty's reward', was always made, so that the price of each play in London, by whatever company represented, was constantly 10*l.*

Companies of players were also not unfrequently employed at marriages, christenings, and entertainments given upon other occasions. In a MS. formerly in the Fairfax Collection, containing the regulations for the household of an Earl, part of which were drawn up in the reign of Henry VII (the sixteenth year of that king being mentioned), provision is made for the representation of Disguisings, Enterludes, and plays', on the marriage of any member of the family. This custom long continued ; and in an account, among the *Lansdowne MSS.*¹ of the expenses at the wedding feast of Mr. Wentworth with the daughter of Lord Burghley, in 1581, are entries of 10*l.* given to the musicians, and of 5*l.* to the players. It was not unusual, when players heard of 'a banquet towards', to go to the house where the party was assembled, and to offer to perform. A remarkable account of the manner in which they proceeded on these occasions, and of the rewards they ordinarily received, is given in the his-

¹ No. 33.

torical play of *Sir Thomas More*, among the *Harleian MSS.*,¹ which was probably written anterior to 1590. Sir Thomas More is about to give a splendid supper to the Lord Mayor of London, the Aldermen, their wives, etc., and his lady informs him that a player is without, who just afterwards enters: Sir T. More says to him—

‘Welcome, good friend: what is your will with me?’

Player.—My Lord, my fellowes and my selfe
Are come to tender ye our willing service,
So please you to command us.

More.—What, for a play you mean?
Whom do ye serve?

Player.—My Lord Cardinalles grace.

More.—My Lord Cardinall’s players! now, trust me, welcome.
You happen hither in a luckie time
To pleasure me, and benefit yourselves.
The Maior of London and some Aldermen,
His lady and their wives, are my kind guests
This night at supper. Now, to have a play
Before the banquet will be excellent.
How thinke you, sonne Roper?

Roper.—’Twill do well, my Lord,
And be right pleasing pastime to your guests.’

When the company is assembled, the players perform part of an interlude of *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*. Afterwards a servant brings the players eight angels as the payment for their pains, but they are dissatisfied, and suspect that the reward sent by Sir Thomas More was at least 5*l.*, or perhaps 10*l.* or 20*l.*, but that the servant had retained part of it for himself, which turns out to be the case: Sir Thomas More had sent ten angels, which the players ultimately obtain, and the actor who had played ‘Inclination, the Vice’,

¹ No. 7368.

observes, 'Many such rewards would make us ride, and horse us with the best nags in Smithfield'.

The sums given to performers under such circumstances, no doubt varied, according to the means and disposition of the person at whose house they exhibited.

The custom for performers of dramatic representations to journey from place to place is very ancient, and frequent instances of the kind, particularly in the reign of Henry VI, are given in the *Annals of the Stage*. Many noblemen at that date had companies of players as their retainers, and they (to use an expression of one of our old dramatists) 'travelled upon the hard hoof from village to village', and from country seat to country seat, receiving uncertain rewards for their exhibitions.¹

No check seems to have been given to the practice of actors wandering over the kingdom, in the exercise of their quality, until the 14th Elizabeth, c. 5, by which it was declared that all players, etc., not licensed by any baron or person of higher rank, or by two justices of the peace, should be deemed and treated as rogues and vagabonds. We can have no doubt that many companies wandered from place to place, pretending to be the retainers of nobility, and to the vagrancy of such persons this statute would put an end: it would also terminate the existence of companies taking their name from any particular town, unless they had procured authority from two justices of the peace. After the lapse of about five-and-twenty

¹ Or, as Dekker, whom we quote, words it contemptuously, 'for cheese and butter-milk'. He is speaking of bad but ambitious players, who, out of a desire 'to wear the best jerkin' and to 'act great parts, forsake the stately and more than Roman city stages' and join a 'strolling company'. *Bellman of London bringing to Light the most notorious Villainies*, etc., London, printed for Nathaniel Butter, 1608, 4to.—A very rare edition of a highly popular tract, unknown to most bibliographers, in the hands of the late Mr. Pickering, of Chancery Lane.

years, this statute seems to have fallen into disuse, and it was therefore revived by the 39th Elizabeth, c. 4, which Malone thought the first statute on the subject.¹

It does not seem to have been usual for the chief actors of the established companies of London to travel into the country, unless the capital were at any period visited by the plague. In general, only the inferior performers left the metropolis; and J. Stephens, giving the character of 'a common player', observes, 'I prefix the epithet of *common*, to distinguish the base and artless appendants of our city companies, which oftentimes start away into rustical wanderings, and then, like Proteus, start back again into the city number'.² That is to say, they returned to London, when they could no longer make their acting profitable in the country. The receipts in the country were always smaller than in London; and in several instances, Henslowe stipulates with his 'hirelings', that should the company be obliged to go into the country, they should play 'at half wages'. When Gamaliel Ratsey, the highwayman, gave some players 40s. for 'a private play' before him, the author of the tract called *Ratsey's Ghost*,³ adds that they 'were richly satisfied, for they scarcely had twenty shillings audience at any time for a play in the country'. Dekker, in his *News from Hell*, 1606, enumerating certain expenses to which Charon had been put, inserts the following items, which place 'country players' in no very enviable light.

'Item lent to a companie of country players, being nine in number, one sharer and the rest Jornymen, that with strowling were brought to deaths door, xiiij*d.* ob. upon their stocke of apparell, to

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 48.

² *Essays and Characters*, 8vo, 1615.

³ 4to. Printed by V. S., without date, but about 1606.

pay for their boat hire, because they would trie if they could be suffred to play in the devils name; which stocke afterwards came into your hands and you dealt upon it—xiiij*d.* ob.

‘They had his hand to a warrant (quoth Charon), but their ragges served to make me swabbers, because they never fetcht it againe, so that belike he proved a good Lord and master to them and they made new. *Perge mentiri*—Tickle the next Minkin.

‘Item, when a Cobler of Poetrie, called a play-patcher, was condemned with his cat to be duckt three times in the Cucking-stole of Periphlegeton (being one of the scalding rivers) til they both dropt again, because he scolded against his betters, and those whom he lived upon, laid out at that time for straw to have carried Pusse away if she had kittend, to avoid any catterwalling in Hell, j pennie.’

‘Strolling players’ are mentioned, not very respectfully, in Taylor’s *The Hog hath lost his Pearl*, acted about 1614, by ‘certain London prentices’, for whose want of skill the author thus apologises in the prologue :

‘We are not half so skill’d as strolling players,
Who could not please here as at country fairs.’

Dr. Whitaker, in his *History of Craven*,¹ observes justly, that strolling players ‘were probably of no higher rank or greater talents, than those who are now content to amuse a country village in a barn’; and he adds, ‘dramatic composition was at its height before dramatic representation had emerged far above barbarism’; a remark which seems to be true only if it refer to ‘dramatic representation’ by companies in the provinces. In the metropolis, the performance was perhaps usually worthy of the production, and the excellent acting of R. Burbage might not a little contribute to aid and excite the genius of Shakespeare. The observation of Dr. Whitaker is appended as a note to certain extracts he furnishes from the

¹ Second Edit., 1812, p. 318.

Household-book of the Clifford family, and which, as they serve to illustrate this part of the subject, we subjoin.

‘1595.—To Lord Willowby’s men playing at this House twice, xxxs.

‘1609.—April 27—Given to a Company of players, my Lord Vawes [Vaux’s] men, in reward not playing, because it was Lent, and therefore not fitting, xs.

‘1614.—Given to Lord Wharton, his players; who played one play before my Lord and the Ladies at Hazlewood.

‘1619.—Given to 15 men that were players, who belonged to the late Queen, but did not play, xiiis. ivd.

‘1619.—Sept. 28. Given to a company of players, being Prince Charles’s servants, who came to Londesbro’ and played a play, xis.

‘1624.—Gave to a set of players, going by the name of the King’s Players, who played three times, iii℥.

‘1633.—To certain players Itinerants, i℥.

‘1635.—To a certain company of roguish players, who represented *A New Way to pay Old Debts*, i℥.

‘1635.—To Adam Girdler, whom my Lord sent for from York to act a part in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, vs.’

In the preceding entries, we see an obvious difference made between the theatrical servants of noblemen, and mere ‘itinerant’ and ‘roguish players’, who wandered about and were liable to have the statute against vagabonds enforced against them: ‘the late Queen’ of course meant Queen Anne, who died on the 1st March 1619.

Many authorities might be brought forward to show, that from very early times the theatrical servants of the nobility wore the badge of the person under the protection of whose name they travelled. When the ballad-singer in *Histrionastix*, 1610, asks the players whose men they are, he looks at the badge they wore, and answers himself—‘How! the sign of the owl in the ivy bush? Sir Oliver Owlet’s!’ This circumstance is again adverted to in the last act of the same play.

PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES.—PROMPTER.—
MUSIC.

THE speaker of the Prologue, when a play was not preceded by an 'induction', entered after the trumpet had thrice sounded. Thomas Dekker thus humorously introduces a list of the mistakes in the printing of his *Satiromastix*, 1602 :—'Instead of the trumpets sounding thrice before the play begin, it shall not be amiss for him, that will read, first to behold this short *Comedy of Errors*.' Many proofs to the same effect might be produced from other plays and pamphlets of the time.¹

The prologue-speaker, in the earlier period of our drama, was either the author in person, or his representative. *Poeta* spoke the prologue to *Childermas Day*, 1512 (reprinted by Hawkins in his *Origin of the English Drama* as *Candlemas Day*)²; and the poet delivers the address to the audience in

¹ In imitation of the theatres, three soundings were used before the commencement of puppet-plays, and shows of monsters: in Mayne's *City Match*, 1639, when Quartfield, Salewit, etc., are about to exhibit Timothy as a strange fish, Plotwell observes,

'they only stay

For company: 't has sounded *twice*.'

² *Wily Beguiled* is another of the plays inserted by Hawkins (vol. iii), but he omits the Epilogue, which is worth preserving, if only on account of the mention in it of *Scoggins' Fests*, and *The Hundred Merry Tales*—the last spoken of by Beatrice in *Much Ado about Nothing*, act ii, scene i. We therefore insert it from the edition of *Wily Beguiled*, of 1606, in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire: the Garrick copy is without it.

'THE EPILOGUE.

Gentles, all compast in this circled round,
Whose kind aspects do patronise our sports,
To you I'll bend as low as to the earth,
In all the humble compliments of courtesy.
But if there be (as 'tis no doubt there is),

the religious play of *Jacob and Esau*, 1568: before the epilogue, also, is this direction: 'Then entreth the poet, and the rest stand still till he have done.' Bale inserted his own name as *Prolocutor*, at the opening of his *God's Promises*, 1538. The prologue to *Misogonus* (a MS. play, dated 1577, but written anterior to that date) was delivered by an actor in the character of Homer, with a wreath of laurel round his head. In the accounts of the Revels in 1573-4, a charge is made for 'bayes for the Prologgs'; and from the prologue to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Woman Hater*, 1607, we learn that it was, even at that date, customary for the person who delivered that portion of the performance, to be furnished with a garland of bay, as well as with a black velvet cloak: 'Gentlemen, Inductions are out of date, and a prologue in verse is as stale as a black velvet cloak and a bay garland: therefore you have it in plain prose thus, etc'. The bay was the emblem of authorship,

In all this round some cynic censurers,
 Whose only skill consists in finding faults,
 That have, like Midas, mighty ass's ears,
 Quick judgments that will strike at every stale,
 And perhaps such as can make a large discourse
 Out of Scoggins' Jests, or the Hundred Merry Tales;
 Marry, if you go any further 'tis beyond their reading:
 To these, I say, I scorn to lend a look,
 And bid them Vanish, vapours! and so let them pass.
 But to the other sort, that hear with love, and judge with favour,
 To them we leave to censure of our play,
 And if they like our play's catastrophe,
 Then let them grace it with a *plaudite*.'

Another notice of *The Hundred Merry Tales*, which also did not occur to the late Mr. Singer, when he reprinted Rastell's edition of them, is to be found in Dekker's *Wonderfull Yeare*, 1603, Sig. F 4. 'I could (he says) fill a large volume, and call it the second part of *The Hundred Merry Tales*, only with such ridiculous stuff as this of the justice.'

and the use of the garland arose out of the custom for the author, or a person representing him, to speak the prologue.¹

The almost constant practice for the prologue-speaker to be dressed in a black cloak, or in black, perhaps, had the same origin. In the induction to Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* two of the children of the Chapel contend for the right of delivering the prologue, and one of them maintains his claim by pleading 'possession of the cloak'.—Before Heywood's *Four Prentices of London*, 1615, the direction is 'Enter three in black cloaks at the doors', each of them coming forward to speak the prologue: the first exclaims, 'What mean you, my masters, to appear thus before your times? Do you not know that I am the prologue?—Do you not see this long black velvet cloak upon my back?—Have you not sounded thrice?'—The same point may be established by quotations from Dekker's *Satiromastix*, Brome's *Novella*, Davenant's *Love and Honour*, and many other plays.²

¹ The Prologue to Shakerley Marmyon's *Fine Companion*, 1633, is a dialogue between a Critic and the Author.

² Mr. Douce was in possession of a tract with the following title:—'The Prologue and Epilogue to a comedie presented at an Entertainment of the Prince his Hignesse, by the Scollers of Trinity Colledge, in Cambridge, in March last, 1641. By Francis Cole.' London, 1642, 4to. It is preceded by a wood-cut, of a person in a black suit, including a cloak, with a paper in his hand; but although the figure was there meant to represent the speaker of a prologue, the cut was not made expressly for this publication: it is, in fact, only part of a larger engraving (if so rude a performance may deserve to be so called) of a messenger bringing a paper to Bishop White; and the whole precedes a tract in our hands, called 'Sir Francis Seymor, his honourable and worthy speech' against the toleration of Jesuits, in 1641. The printer of Cole's *Prologue and Epilogue*, in 1642, broke off the figure of the Bishop upon the same block, and cutting away an inscription proceeding from the mouth of the messenger,—'Read and consider',—made the figure of the messenger represent the speaker of a prologue, which, no doubt, it then sufficiently resembled.

Exceptions to this rule were, however, not unfrequent, and the prologue to Brome's *City Wit* was delivered by Sarpego, one of the persons of the play, in his character of 'a Pedant'. The prologue to *Every Woman in her Humour*, 1609, was delivered 'by a woman', an actor who personated the character of Flavia :—'Enter Flavia, as a Prologue—Gentles of both sexes, and of all sorts, I am sent to bid ye welcome. I am but instead of a Prologue, for a she Prologue is as rare as a usurer's alms.' Another instance of the same kind is to be found at a considerably later date : the prologue to Shirley's *Coronation*, 1640, was spoken by a woman—

'Since 'tis become the title of our play,
A woman once in a Coronation may
With pardon speak the prologue, give as free
A welcome to the theatre, as he
That with a little beard, a long black cloak,
With a starch'd face and supple leg hath spoke
Before the plays the [this] twelvemonth : let me then
Present a welcome to these gentlemen.
If you be kind and noble, you will not
Think the worse of me for my petticoat.'

Malone remarks,¹ that 'an epilogue does not appear to have been a regular appendage to a play in Shakespeare's time'; but in many instances in which they were delivered they were no doubt retrenched by the printer, because they could not be brought within the compass of the page, and because he was unwilling to add another leaf : sometimes they are crowded into an unusually small space ; but as they were matters separate from the main body of the performance, it is likely that not a few of them have been lost. 'In *All's Well that ends Well* (says Malone), *A Midsummer Night's*

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 115.

Dream, As You Like It, Troilus and Cressida, and *The Tempest*, the epilogue is spoken by one of the persons of the drama, and adapted to the character of the speaker—a circumstance that I have not observed in the epilogues of any other author of that age.' In this remark Malone was hasty, for it would be easy to multiply proofs that other dramatists of the day pursued the same course: the epilogue to H. Porter's *Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, 1599, was spoken by Mall, the heroine, in the presence of the rest of the performers: in Nash's *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, 1600, it was delivered by a little boy, who had acted in the play, sitting on the knee of Will Summer: in *Eastward Ho!* it is given to Quicksilver, etc. Coming down to a later date, the epilogue to R. Brome's *Antipodes* (played in 1638) was divided between two characters—the Doctor and Peregrine.

The Morals written and exhibited subsequent to the Reformation almost invariably closed with an 'epilogue', in which prayers were offered up by the actors (usually kneeling) for the King, Queen, nobility, clergy, and sometimes for the commons. This practice continued in the beginning of the 17th century, and the most recent instance that we are aware of is the epilogue to *Two Wise Men and all the rest Fools*, 1619:—
'It resteth now that we render you very humble and hearty thanks, and that all our hearts pray for the King and his family's enduring happiness, and our country's perpetual welfare—*Si placet, plaudite.*'

The prompter, book-keeper, or book-holder (for he is spoken of by these three designations) was well known in our old theatres. In R. Brome's *Antipodes*, act iii, scene 8, a play within a play is represented on the stage, and a voice is heard 'within' giving the word 'Dismiss the Court'; upon which Lord Letoy observes—'Dismiss the Court: can you not hear the prompter?' In *Every Woman in her Humour*, 1609, one of

the characters observes, 'He would swear like an Elephant, and stamp and stare (God bless us!) like a playhouse book-keeper, when the actors miss their entrance'. The 'book-holder' is a character in the induction to Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, and he is also mentioned in the inductions to his *Cynthia's Revels* and *Staple of News*. In Nash's *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, Dick Huntly (who appears to have filled this post in the company by whom that piece was acted) is told by Will Summer to 'hold the book well', in order that the actors might not be 'at a *non plus* in the latter end of a play'.

'The tireman', who had charge of the apparel and properties of the company, is also spoken of by Ben Jonson in the induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, and by many other dramatic poets. We find the word 'properties' technically applied to the appurtenances of the stage as early as the year 1511: in an account of the furniture, etc., for the play of *St. George*, at Basingborne, in that year, 'properties' and 'property making' are both used, and the 'tire-man, in the same document is called the 'garnement man'. In the 'brief estimate', of the Revels at Court in 1563-4, the 'properties' for five plays at Windsor are several times mentioned.

Theatrical performances from the most remote date seem to have been varied and enlivened by music: the playing of minstrels is often mentioned in the old Miracle-plays, and, besides horns, the pipe, the tabret, and the flute, are spoken of as the instruments they used.¹ At the end of the prologue to *Childermas Day*, 1512, the minstrels are required to 'do their diligence', and precisely the same expression is employed at the close of the same performance, with the addition of being required either to dance themselves, or to play a dance for the company.

¹ See the *Smith's Pageant*, in the Chester Whitsun Plays, etc.

'Also, ye menstrelles, doth your diligens :
A fore our depertyng geve us a daunce.'

The mention of music, or minstrelsy, as an accompaniment of the old Morals, is not frequent, although songs are often introduced into them ; but it is very clear that companies of players, who visited monasteries and the houses of the nobility prior to the Reformation, were often attended by minstrels, who are sometimes mentioned with, and rewarded at the same time as the actors.

The use of trumpets, cornets, etc., for the soundings before the prologue in plays of the age of Shakespeare, and for senets and alarums during the performance of them, requires no farther illustration ; but regarding the music between the acts it may be fit to bring forward a few authorities.

First, with respect to the situation the musicians used to occupy in our theatres : Malone (on the authority of Bowman, the contemporary of Betterton) says that 'the band, which I believe did not consist of more than eight or ten performers, sat in an upper balcony over what is 'now called the stage-box'.¹ In support of this position he cites a stage direction from Massinger's *City Madam*, where it is said that the 'Musicians come down to make ready for a song at the arras', but it does not by any means prove what Malone advances. In Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, 1602 (played by the children of Paul's) we meet with the following stage direction in act v,—'While the measure is dancing, Andrugio's ghost is placed *betwixt the music houses*', so that instrumental performers sat in two different places. In Middleton's *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, 1630, we read this stage direction :—'While the company seem to weep and mourn, there is a sad song *in the music room*': boxes were indifferently called *rooms*, and one of them was probably appropriated to the musicians. Whatever

¹ Malone's *Shakespeare* by Boswell, iii, 111.

might be its situation at an earlier date, when Shakespeare's *Tempest*, as altered by Dryden and Davenant, was played at the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields in 1667, it seems probable that the band was for the first time placed between the audience and the stage. The subsequent is part of the introductory description:—'The front of the stage is opened, and the band of twenty-four violins, with the harpsicals and theorbos, which accompany the voices, are placed between the pit and the stage.' As Malone has remarked, if this had not been a novel regulation, the explanation would have been unnecessary.¹

Although various songs are introduced into *Ralph Roister Doister*, it nowhere appears that music was played between the acts. At the end of act ii of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 1566, Diccon, addressing himself to the instrumental performers, tells them, 'In the mean time, fellows, pipe up your fiddles'; and, perhaps, we may conclude that music was also played at the close of the other acts, although it is not mentioned. In *The Two Italian Gentlemen*, by Anthony Munday (printed about 1584), the different kinds of music to be played after each act are mentioned, whether 'a pleasant galliard', 'a solemn dump', or 'a pleasant allemaigne'. Marston is very particular in his *Sophonisba*, 1606, in pointing out the instruments to be played during the four intervals of the acts:—'the cornets and organs playing loud full music' for act i;

¹ There is little doubt that Davenant introduced this change, as well as others less commendable, from France. The authors of the *Histoire Universelle des Théâtres* tell us, that after the disuse of the old chorus in 1630, 'à la place du chant qui distinguoit les actes, et qui marquoit les repos nécessaires, on introduisit des joueurs d'instrumens, qui d'abord furent placés sur les ailes du théâtre, où ils exécutoient différens airs avant le commencement de la pièce, et entre les actes. Ensuite ils furent mis au fond des troisièmes loges, puis aux secondes, enfin entre le théâtre et le parterre, où ils sont restés'.—*Essais Historiques*, ii, 290.

'organs, mixed with recorders', for act ii; 'organs, viols, and voices', for act iii; and 'a base lute and a treble viol' for act iv. In the course of act v he introduces a novel species of harmony, for we are twice told that 'infernal music plays softly'. Fiddles, flutes, and hautboys are mentioned by other dramatists as instruments then in use at the theatres. Nabbes, in the prologue to his *Hannibal and Scipio*, 1637, alludes at the same time to the change of the place of action, and to the performance of instruments between the acts—

'The place is sometimes chang'd too with the scene,
Which is translated as the music plays
Betwixt the acts.'

Malone refers to a warrant of protection, dated 27th of December 1624, by Sir H. Herbert to Nicholas Underhill, Robert Pallant, John Rhodes, and seventeen others, 'all employed by the King's Majesty's servants in their quality of playing as musicians, and other necessary attendants';¹ but here it is impossible to distinguish who were musicians and who attendants; and a doubt must exist whether the musicians did not sometimes perform, and *vice versâ*. We know that Phillippes and other actors of eminence played upon different instruments,² and Pallant was a performer in the 'plat' of the second part of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, before 1588: possibly, after he had ceased to act he became an instrumental performer in the band. The fee to the Master of the Revels for 'a warrant for the musicians of the king's company' appears to have been 1*l.*, and on the 9th of April 1627, Sir H. Herbert enters the receipt of that sum for that purpose: before this

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 112.

² By his will, dated 4th of May 1605, among other bequests, he left his base viol to Samuel Gilburne, his 'late apprentice', and his cittern, bandore, and lute, to James Sands, who was his apprentice at the time of his death.—*Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 472.

date we do not hear of any such claim by the Master of the Revels.

Dr. Burney, in his *History of Music* (iii, 376), quotes from a MS., then in the possession of Dr. Moreton of the British Museum, an account of the preparation and performance of Shirley's *Mask of Peace* in February 1633-4, in which it is said that 'the Blackfriars' music' was then 'esteemed the best of the common musicians in London'. The shifts Musicians were put to, after the closing of the theatres in 1642, are thus humorously noticed by the author of *The Actor's Remonstrance*, 1643 :—

'Our music, that was held so delectable and precious, that they scorned to come to a tavern under twenty shillings salary for two hours, now wander with their instruments under their cloaks—I mean such as have any—into all houses of good fellowship, saluting every room where there is company with "Will you have any music, gentlemen?"'

It would not be difficult to accumulate other evidence of the same character during the Civil Wars, when all branches of the profession were reduced to extremities.

MEMOIRS
OF
THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS
IN
SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS,
WHEN
ORIGINALLY PERFORMED.

IN the course of our inquiries into the History of our early Drama and Stage, we have kept a list of not fewer than between 400 and 500 persons who figured, more or less prominently, in the dramas represented in England anterior to the Restoration. It would, of course, be impossible to give them all, and the accounts regarding most of them are little more than meagre notices; but the Player-editors of the Dramatic Works of Shakespeare, 1623, furnished the names of twenty-six of those whom they called the Principal Actors in the different dramas, including, of course, the Author of them: the biography of Shakespeare himself has been many times elaborately compiled; but no attempt has been made to collect and arrange the particulars of the Lives of any of the other performers, until a few years ago, when a private Society, for the information of its members only, put forth a volume containing Memoirs of those Principal Actors. We have thought that we could not more appropriately conclude the *History of our Dramatic Poetry and Theatres* from the earliest times to the reign of Charles II, than by resort to that work, with such additions and corrections as subsequent research has enabled us to make. We have felt the less scruple in adopting this course, because the volume itself was the compilation of the same editor. The materials are in many cases scanty, but they are all that his industry through a long life has been hitherto able to collect: the incidents of the lives of actors are generally, and necessarily, few, excepting in connection with their public performances. We have adhered to the order of precedence observed by Hemmings and Condell, who knew them all, and their several claims and pretensions.

J. P. C.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

ACTORS IN SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

RICHARD BURBAGE.

WE cannot better illustrate the carelessness with which matters relating to the personal history of the principal actors in Shakespeare's plays have been collected by their only biographers, Malone and Chalmers, than by referring to the fact that they both repeatedly consulted the registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and yet failed to note the baptism of one of the children of Richard Burbage, and the burial of another.

The child, whose birth is unrecorded, is William Burbage, born on the 6th November 1616, about six months after the death of Shakespeare ; and it is extremely interesting, since we need entertain little doubt that the boy was named William in memory of our great dramatist, by acting in whose productions Richard Burbage had attained so lofty a professional reputation, and with whom, as far as we know, he kept up his intimacy to the last. The child whose death escaped the observation of Malone and Chalmers was Sarah, the posthumous daughter of Richard Burbage, who, having been baptized on the 5th August 1619, was buried on the 29th of April 1625. We have no account of the death or burial of William Burbage, but we shall have occasion to mention him again in the course of the following memoir.

There is every reason to believe that the Burbages, who were so importantly connected with our early stage, originally came from

Warwickshire. A family of the name was settled at Stratford-upon-Avon in the middle of the sixteenth century, and must have been of some consideration and respectability, because John Burbage was bailiff of the borough in June 1555, at which date we meet with the earliest trace of the Shakespeares there.¹ It also appears by various documents that Burbages, like Shakespeares, were resident at a remote period in different parts of Warwickshire and the bordering counties. There was however a numerous family of the same name in Hertfordshire; and when arms were granted to Cuthbert Burbage (the brother of Richard, and a bookseller) in 1634, they were the same as those of the Burbages of Hertfordshire, whence an inference may possibly be drawn that the families of Burbage of Warwickshire and of Hertfordshire were in some way related.

The oldest member of the family connected with our early stage, as far as we have any information, was James Burbage,² the father of Richard, Cuthbert, and other children, whose names will occur hereafter; but we are without the slightest clue to his reason for becoming an actor. It was a profession in bad repute before Elizabeth came to the throne, and long afterwards; and poverty, peculiar circumstances of position, or a strong passion for theatrical performances, could alone have induced an individual to attach himself to it. We first hear of him as one of the players of the Earl of Leicester, when, in May 1574, that nobleman obtained a patent for James Burbage (we give the names in the order in which they occur in the instrument), John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wilson, authorising them to act in any part of the kingdom, including, in express terms, the city of London—'as well within our city of London, and liberties of the same, as also within the liberties and

¹ *Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell*, ii, 78.

² *Chalmers's Suppl. Apol.*, 154, note k. Malone and Chalmers differed irreconcilably as to the etymology of the name of Burbage: the first would have it a corruption of Boroughbridge, and the last would derive it from Boar-badger. We do not consider it a point of the slightest consequence, because to settle it either way explains no part of their history: in different documents of the time we find the name spelt Burbage, Burbege, Burbadge, Burbidge, Burbedge, and Burbadg.

freedoms of any our cities, towns, boroughs, etc., whatsoever, as without the same, throughout our realm of England.¹

We may presume, from the place his name occupies, that James Burbage was then at the head of the company; but we cannot tell how long he had been so, nor, indeed, how long he had been a member of the association. We know that Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, had a body of theatrical servants, travelling about the country under the sanction and shelter of his patronage, as early as 1559; for in June of that year he addressed a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, requesting that they might receive from him the same license for acting in Yorkshire, that they had obtained from several other Lords Lieutenant of counties.² The individual players are not there enumerated; but, as James Burbage had advanced to the first place in the company in 1574, it may not be too much to suppose that he had been a member of it for some years, if he were not so in 1559. That he was an actor, and not merely a manager, we may be quite certain, because at that date actors only were members of theatrical associations; but no existing evidence shows the nature of the parts he represented.

The players of the Earl of Leicester, fortified by the patent their patron had procured for them in 1574, seem very soon to have taken measures to establish themselves permanently in London. They had performed a piece at Court, called *Mamillia*, on 28th December 1573, and *Philemon and Philecia*, on Shrove Monday, 1574;³ and we can have no difficulty in deciding, that they must have been called upon to lend their aid for the entertainment of Queen Elizabeth, when she visited Lord Leicester at Kenilworth in the summer of 1575. One of the persons who has left behind him an account of the preparations and festivities on that occasion was named Lanham, or Langham, and may have been, if indeed we cannot say he probably was, nearly related to the John Lanham, who stands third in the

¹ *Annals of the Stage*, i, 203.

² In January 1560-61, 'the L. Robert Dudley's Players' performed before the Queen. See Cunningham's *Revels' Accounts*.

³ *Ibid*, p. 68.

players' patent of 1574.¹ After the company had concluded at Kenilworth, they seem to have entered upon the project of preparing a building, to be exclusively devoted to the representation of plays, in the precinct and liberty of the dissolved monastery of the Blackfriars, London. It is to be borne in mind, that ever since the dissolution of that religious house it had been used as the depository of the machinery, dresses, etc., for Court disguisings, masques, and entertainments : for this reason the attention of James Burbage and his associates may have been especially directed to that neighbourhood ; but it is possible that they would not have gone there at all, but for the hostility of the Lord Mayor, and other city authorities ; who, notwithstanding the terms of the patent of 1574, and the support given to players by the Court and nobility, had succeeded in excluding the actors of the Earl of Leicester, and several other companies, from the immediate jurisdiction of the corporation. The precinct and liberty of the Blackfriars was out of the limits of that jurisdiction, but still in the very heart of the metropolis.

The theatre there opened was rather the conversion to dramatic purposes of a previously existing edifice, than an entirely new structure. In a remonstrance by certain inhabitants, presented against the undertaking, it is alleged that 'one Burbage (meaning, of course, the father of Richard) hath lately bought certain rooms in the same precinct, near adjoining unto the dwelling-houses of the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Hunsdon ; which rooms the said Burbage is now altering, and meaneth very shortly to convert and turn the same into a common playhouse'. The subscribers to this remonstrance

¹ The title of this singular and interesting tract runs precisely thus :—we give it literally, because we have never seen it so quoted, and the author was conceited in his orthography—'A Letter : Whearin part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Maiesty at Killingworth Castl, in Warwik Sheer, in this Soomerz Progress, 1575, iz signified : from a freend, officer attendant in the Coourt, vnto hiz freend a Citizen and Merchaunt of London.' It is without the name of either printer or publisher, but the author at the end calls himself 'Mercer, Merchant-aventurer, and Clark of the Council chamber door, and also keeper of the same'. His 'Letter' is addressed 'vntoo my good freend Master Humfrey Martin, Mercer'.

objected to the scheme, on the ground that it would create a nuisance in the neighbourhood ; but there is no doubt that their representation was unavailing, because the theatre was completed, and ere long opened—not indeed as ‘a common playhouse’, which the inhabitants apprehended, but as ‘a private theatre’. It was, however, so far ‘a common playhouse’, that all persons were admitted on the payment of money at the doors : it was called ‘a private theatre’, mainly by reason of its smaller dimensions, and from the circumstance that it was covered in from the weather. What were termed public theatres were only partially roofed, over the stage and rooms, or boxes ; and their form, and the nature of the accommodation in them for spectators, were adopted from inn-yards with surrounding galleries, which, after churches ceased to be so used, were the earliest places employed for dramatic representations.

At the period of the building of the Blackfriars Theatre, we may be certain that old James Burbage had been some time married, and that he had then two sons living, Richard and Cuthbert, and perhaps a daughter, of whom we shall say more presently. Chalmers gave the maiden name of the mother of Richard Burbage as ‘Ellen, the daughter of Mr. Brayne, of London’, but it is certain that she was buried by the name of Hellen;¹ which may raise a doubt, whether her name were really Helen or Ellen. Chalmers appears to have derived his knowledge of the mother from the heraldic visitation of London in 1634, when Cuthbert Burbage, the brother of Richard, was still living, and gave the information. We may therefore conclude, that the maiden name of the mother of James Burbage was Ellen Brayne ; and when Chalmers adds that Cuthbert Burbage did not, in 1634, know who was his grandfather,² he must have meant his *paternal* grandfather, because he was well aware that his maternal

¹ She outlived her husband many years, and was interred at St. Leonard’s, Shoreditch, where the entry in the register runs precisely as follows :—‘ 1613. Hellen Burbadge, widow, was buried the xv of March.’ This, in fact, was 15th March 1614 ; but Chalmers (*Apology*, p. 386), who must have examined the register very inattentively, gives the date 8th May 1613.

² *Supplemental Apology*, p. 153.

grandfather was 'Mr. Brayne, of London': his paternal grandfather was, of course, a Burbage, and probably of Warwickshire; but what was his Christian name, or his occupation, Cuthbert Burbage, when questioned, could not, or would not tell.

Much new light is thrown upon the early history of the Burbages, and upon the construction of the Blackfriars Theatre, by several documents recently discovered in the records of the Court of Chancery, unknown, of course, to Malone and Chalmers.¹ We shall insert accurate copies of these papers presently: but it may be as well first to state, distinctly and succinctly, the points they establish. By a bill filed in Chancery anterior to the 4th November 1590, it appears that the ground on which the playhouse stood was let to James Burbage, on lease, by Giles Allyn; but, probably, not having funds for its construction, he applied to Mr. Brayne, his wife's father, who advanced to him 600*l.*, on condition that James Burbage should assign to him a moiety of the theatre and its profits. That assignment does not seem to have been executed in the lifetime of Mr. Brayne; and after his death, his widow, Margaret Brayne (or Braynes, as she is once called in the title of the cause), was obliged to commence proceedings in equity, to compel a fulfilment of the contract. The earliest record of these proceedings is the following:—

'4th November 1590.—Between Margaret Braynes, executrix of John Braynes deceased, plaintiff; James Burbage, and Richard and Cuthbert Burbage, defendants.—Forasmuch as this court was this present day informed by Mr. Scott, being of the plaintiff's counsel, that she having exhibited a bill into this court against the defendants, for and concerning the moiety of the theatre and other tenements which the said James Burbage was, by the agreement had between him and the plaintiff's late husband, to assign to the executors, administrators, or assigns of her said husband, and to suffer him and them to enjoy it for and during the whole term to come in a lease made of the said theatre, or of the ground whereupon it stands, and of other the premises, to the said James Burbage by one Gyles Allyn, he the said James hath not only put in an ill demurrer to that bill, which hath been overruled by order of this court; but also doth, by himself and

¹ No suspicion of their existence was entertained when the author of the present volume first printed his *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage*. We are indebted for them to Mr. Monro, one of the registrars.

the other defendants, take away the whole gains and benefit of the said theatre, and other the premises, from the plaintiff, albeit she and her husband have been at very great charges in building thereof, to the sum of 600*l.*, and did for a time enjoy the moiety of the premises, according to the true meaning of the said agreement. It is therefore ordered, that if the defendant shall not by this day sevenight show unto this court good cause to the contrary, then a sequestration shall be granted of the moiety of all the issues and profits of the premises, until the matter shall be here heard or determined, or otherwise ordered by this court.'

To her bill James Burbage and his two sons Richard and Cuthbert (who were joined with him) put in a demurrer, which was alleged to be insufficient; and on the 23rd March 1590-1, the whole matter was referred to Dr. (afterwards Sir Julius) Cæsar.

On 24th April following, for some unexplained reason, Dr. Carew (another Master in Chancery), was required to report upon the demurrer of the widow Brayne.

'24th April 1591.—Between James Burbage, plaintiff; Margaret Brayne and Robert Myles, defendants.—Forasmuch as this court was this present day informed on the plaintiff's behalf, that the said defendants have put in a very frivolous and insufficient demurrer to the plaintiff's bill, without showing any good causes thereof: therefore, the consideration of the said bill and demurrer is referred to Mr. Doctor Carew, one of the masters of this court, to the end he may consider and report to this court whether the said demurrer be sufficient or not: if not, then a subpoena is awarded against the defendants, to make a perfect and direct answer to the plaintiff's bill of complaint, and to all the material points thereof; and the defendants' attorney is to be warned when the premises shall be so considered of.

ROTH.'

In July Dr. Hone was substituted for Dr. Cæsar, with directions 'to hear and end the cause' between the parties, if possible. We do not hear of the matter again until 28th May 1596, about eight months before the death of old James Burbage, when we find Robert Miles standing in the place of the widow Brayne, as plaintiff: his relation to the parties does not appear, but the record of the proceeding in Chancery shows, that between 1591 and 1596 an 'arbitrament' had been agreed upon, and that Cuthbert and Richard Burbage had given one bond of 400*l.* for the performance of the assignment of a 'moiety of the lease of the theatre and of the pro-

fits thereof', and another bond of 200*l.* for the performance of the award.

'28 May 1596. —Between Robert Miles, plaintiff; James Burbage and Cutbert Burbage, defendants.—The matter in question between the said parties, touching the moiety of the lease of the theatre in the bill mentioned, and the profits thereof, coming this present day to be heard in the presence of the counsel learned on both parts, it was alleged by the defendants' counsel that the said plaintiff had not only a bond of 400*l.* made unto him by the defendants for the assigning over of the same moiety, whereupon a demurrer is now joined at the common law, but also another bond of 200*l.* made for the performance of an arbitrament made between the said parties, which the said plaintiff pretendeth to be also forfeited by the defendants, and therefore, as the said counsel alleged, the plaintiff hath no need of the aid of this court for the said lease and profits: it is thereupon thought fit, and so ordered by this court, that the said plaintiff shall proceed at the common law against the said defendants upon the same bonds, to the end it may be seen whether the plaintiff can relieve himself upon the said bonds or not; but if it fall out that the plaintiff can't be relieved upon the said bonds, then the matter shall receive a speedy hearing in this court, and such order shall be given thereupon as the equity of the case shall require: and in the mean time the matter is reynd in this court.'

On this account the defendants, James and Cuthbert Burbage, contended that the plaintiff Miles was barred in equity, and that he must proceed at common law for the recovery of the money secured by the bonds. What became of the suit afterwards we are without information; but these particulars cannot be devoid of interest, inasmuch as they relate directly to the origin of the theatres for which Shakespeare was a writer from the beginning to the end of his career.

In order to give these proceedings in equity in connection, we have necessarily anticipated various circumstances. We now return to the intelligence respecting the Burbage family which we derive from other sources.

In the spring of 1576 James Burbage and his wife resided in Holywell Street, Shoreditch, and there they continued during the whole of their lives afterwards, most likely in the very house which their son Richard subsequently occupied until his death. Cuthbert Burbage had also a house in the same street, as is distinctly proved by the registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch; for, whenever a baptism

or a death in the Burbage family is there recorded, we find 'Holywell Street' (or Halliwell Street, as it is usually there spelt) at the end of the memorandum. Such was the case with the earliest mention of James Burbage, where the baptism of a daughter, named Alice, is thus entered:—

'Alice Burbage, d. of Jeames Burbage, bap. March xith, 1575. Halliwell Street.'

Chalmers placed this event a year later, viz., 11th March 1576-7, which is evidently an error for 1575-6. Cuthbert and Richard Burbage must have been older than Alice, but where either of them was born, or at what precise date, we have no information:¹ it was probably in the country, and there is ground for believing that Richard Burbage, if not his brother, was born in Warwickshire. In the copy of a letter, written most likely in 1609, it is stated that Richard Burbage was 'of one county, and indeed almost of one town' with Shakespeare: hence we might conclude that Richard Burbage was born near Stratford-upon-Avon, of which town we have already seen that a John Burbage was bailiff in 1555.

At about the date when the Blackfriars Theatre was constructed, there were two playhouses in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, one distinguished as The Theatre, and the other called The Curtain. In both of these James Burbage may have been interested, and his continued residence in Holywell Street might fairly lead to the conclusion that he was a sharer in at least one of them. Malone speculates that Richard Burbage 'may originally have played at the Curtain';² but if he did so, his performances must have been of infantine characters, and he may also have sustained similar parts at the Blackfriars Theatre at its opening, about the year 1576; but we have not a particle of evidence upon the point, nor do we at all know how old he was at the time the latter house was constructed.

¹ The registers at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, go back to the first year of the reign of Elizabeth; but they contain no entry relating to the Burbages until March 1575-6: consequently, nothing relative to the births of Cuthbert or Richard Burbage, and perhaps they were born in the provinces.

² *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 182.

We have searched the registers of several churches in the vicinity of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the hope of meeting with an entry of the baptism of Richard Burbage, but without avail: our conjecture is that he was somewhat younger than Shakespeare. Upon one point in his early history we have distinct testimony, viz., that he was upon the stage, and filled a prominent place in a company, before 1588. Richard Tarlton (the most celebrated comedian of his own, or perhaps of any day, who may possibly have stood godfather to Richard Burbage, and have given him his own Christian name)¹ was the author of a dramatic performance (consisting, as far as we can now judge, of dumb show, and extemporal dialogue on a preconcerted plot) called *The Seven Deadly Sins*: it appears to have been in two parts, and the 'plat', or 'platform' of the second part, as it had been agreed upon by the actors, has come down to us, and is printed in our *History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage*.² In this production, the name of Richard Burbage several time occurs, and he sustained (as well as we can decide from the place his name occupies with those of other actors on the stage at the same time) the two characters of Gorboduc and Tereus: in this remarkable relic we read,

'Enter King Gorboduc with two Counsaillors. R. Burbadge, Mr. Brian, Th. Goodale.

'Enter Tereus. Philomele. Julio. R. Burbadge, Ro. R. Pall., I. Sink.'³

¹ This speculation may derive some trifling support from the fact, that James Burbage and Richard Tarlton were near neighbours in London, both living in Holywell Street, Shoreditch. They were also, probably, fellow sharers in the same company, for it is known that Tarlton had been a performer at the Curtain Theatre.

² Vol. iii, p. 198. It is also found, but incorrectly, in Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 348. The original is still preserved at Dulwich College; and the production of it is assigned to Tarlton, on the authority of Thomas Nash, in his *Strange Newes*, 1592, Sign. H 2:—'Hang thee, thou common coosener of curteous readers, etc., have I imitated Tarlton's play of *The Seaven Deadly Sinnes* in my plot of *Pierce Pennilesse*? whom hast thou not imitated then in the course of thy booke?' In 1593, this tract by Nash was republished under the title of *The Apologie of Pierce Pennilesse, or Strange Newes*, etc.

³ 'Ro. R. Pall' was probably only meant for one actor, whose name was

We may thus reasonably infer that Richard Burbage had the parts of Gorboduc and Tereus ; Brian and Goodale being the two counsellors in the first, and Pallant and Sinklow being Philomele and Julio in the second scene. The two out of the seven deadly sins here illustrated would seem to have been envy, as displayed in the history of Gorboduc and his sons Ferrex and Porrex, and lechery, as explained in the fable of *Tereus and Philomele*. This representation must have taken place prior to 1588, because Tarlton, the contriver of the piece, was buried in September of that year.¹ From the duties at this period thrown upon Richard Burbage, we are warranted in stating that in or before 1588 he was a prominent member of the company to which he belonged.

What was his age at the date to which we are now referring we have no means of knowing. Gorboduc, as already noticed, has two sons, grown up and competitors for the crown, and we can hardly suppose that the representative of their father could have been a mere boy ; those who acted his sons were certainly men, and we may at least conjecture that Richard Burbage was of age in 1588.² This

Robert Pallant : the copyist by mistake indicated the Christian name of Pallant twice, once by 'Ro.' and immediately afterwards by 'R.' A person of the name of Pallant continued connected with the stage in 1624, but he officiated as one of the musicians to the company of the King's players. This may have been the son of 'Ro. R. Pall' ; or, in his later years, after he ceased to appear on the stage, he may have become one of the performers in what we now call the orchestra, or, as it was then sometimes termed, the music-room : not a few of our elder actors were skilful upon several instruments. 'I. Sink.' was an abbreviation for John Sinklow, who sustained inferior parts in Shakespeare's plays, and whose name, instead of that of the character he filled, is three times printed in the folio, 1623, of *Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*.

¹ At St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where the registry is precisely as follows : we give it with particularity, because it has never been literally quoted, and because it ascertains that Tarlton (supposing *Torrelton* to mean him, as no doubt it does), lived, like many other actors, in Holywell Street, near James Burbage.

'1588.—Richard Torrelton was buried the third of September—Halliwell Street.'

It has never been mentioned that the famous name of Tarlton is so peculiarly spelt in the register, and it occurs nowhere else in the same form.

² In 1590 he was made, with his father and brother, Cuthbert Burbage,

supposition would carry back his birth to about the year 1567, making him three years younger than the great author in whose dramas he subsequently acted so many of the leading characters.

In 1582, Richard Burbage had lost a sister (of the same name as Shakespeare's sister, who was born in 1569) but whether she were older or younger than the subject of our memoir cannot be determined: the record of her baptism is not to be found, but that of her burial runs as follows in the register of St. Leonard, Shoreditch:—

'1582.—Joane Burbadge, the daughter of James Burbedge, was buried the same day (18th August).

This is one of the memoranda which Malone and Chalmers passed over without discovery: we may conclude, perhaps, that like Cuthbert and Richard Burbage, Joan was born, died, and was registered out of London, perhaps while her parents were making some theatrical expedition into the provinces.

Another important circumstance warrants the belief that Richard Burbage in 1588 had arrived at the age of maturity. In 1589, when the company occupying the Blackfriars (then, as we apprehend, called the Queen's players, and subsequently the Lord Chamberlain's servants)¹ sent in a representation to the Privy Council, in order that their performances at that theatre might not be interrupted, inasmuch as they, unlike some other associations, had given no ground of offence, we find the name of Richard Burbage immediately following that of his father in a list of sixteen performers, among whom Shakespeare comes the twelfth. James Burbage was the owner, or part owner, of the playhouse, and head of the association, circumstances that may have given his son Richard an importance not otherwise due to his rank in the profession; but still we may feel pretty

a joint defendant in a proceeding in chancery respecting the original Blackfriars Theatre.

¹ So they continued to be called until the accession of James I, who, by the patent of 17th May 1603, took them into his own service, after which they were known as the King's players. In 1590, however, Elizabeth had two companies in her pay. See Cunningham's *Revels' Accounts*, Introduction, p. xxxii.

confident, that he would not have occupied that place, preceding such performers as Lanham, Pope, Peele, Phillips, Kempe, Johnson, and others (to say nothing here of our great dramatist), if he had not reached such a time of life as rendered him capable of supporting characters requiring a person of manly age and figure.

Another material fact, which occurred about four years afterwards, tends to the same conclusion, and is connected with one of the most important events in our early stage-history.

The Globe Theatre, on the Bankside, Southwark, was built in 1594 ; or, at all events, on the 23rd December 1593, Richard Burbage entered into an agreement with a carpenter of the name of Peter Street to construct it of certain materials and of specified dimensions.¹ We may suppose, in the absence of positive evidence, that at this period his father (who died, as we shall see, not very long afterwards) had relinquished his connection with the stage : if not, James Burbage would, probably, have been the party to subscribe a bond to Street for the payment of the money as soon as the work was performed. It is more than likely, therefore, that in December 1593, the father having quitted the profession, his son Richard had succeeded him as the head of the company of the Lord Chamberlain's players, as they were then designated—a position he would hardly have taken, had he not been a man of perhaps five or six-and-twenty, which would have been his age, supposing him to have been born in 1567. His professional rank and standing will therefore fully account for the situation in which we find him at the period when the Globe was originally constructed.

We are not able to speak with any degree of positiveness as to the mode in which the money was raised for this undertaking : it is very possible that Richard Burbage was the sole proprietor of the new theatre, but more probable that he had partners, and that those partners were some of the principal sharers in the Blackfriars, each putting down a certain sum for the purpose. We take it that, as leader of the company, Richard Burbage stood forward to represent

¹ Malone's *Inquiry*, p. 87.

the general body of his fellows, and, having first secured himself, for greater convenience had agreed to become personally and individually responsible to the builder. Street may not unnaturally have preferred this security, from a man of known station and substance, to the separate liability of the different members of the association, who had various, and perhaps some of them only small, shares in the speculation. One of these sharers was our great dramatist, who probably left the conduct of the business to persons who were engaged in the more active duties of the profession : he was, precisely at this period, employed upon the printing of his *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* ; and in our *Life of Shakespeare* some reasons are assigned for supposing that the munificent gift of Lord Southampton might be made to him at this time, as a return for the dedication of the two poems, and with a view to the expense their author might incur as part owner of the Globe.

About two years after the Globe was completed (supposing it to have been finished late in 1594), and when the company thus had a regular place for dramatic performances besides the Blackfriars Theatre, which had been in constant use for that purpose during nearly twenty years, the association commenced the repair and enlargement of the latter. This step alarmed some of the inhabitants of the precinct and liberty of the Blackfriars, where the Lord Mayor and Corporation had no authority, and they therefore made a representation against it to the Privy Council : eight members of the company presented a counter petition, in which the name of Richard Burbage stands second, following that of the celebrated actor of clown's parts, Thomas Pope. What weight this circumstance may deserve we are not prepared to say ; and in the same instrument the name of Shakespeare follows those of Pope, Burrage (so spelt), Hemings, and Phillips, and precedes those of Kempe, Sly, and Tooley. Thomas Pope in 1596 might be at the head of the comedians, and Richard Burbage at the head of the tragedians of the company : Pope was unquestionably a man of eminence and property, and died in the autumn of 1603, or in the spring of 1604, leaving shares in the Curtain Theatre, in Shoreditch, as well as in the Globe, on the Bankside ; but nothing is

said in his will of any interest he might then have had in the Blackfriars.¹

We have mentioned the characters Burbage sustained in the Second Part of *The Seven Deadly Sins*,² but it is almost certain that he had previously performed in *The Spanish Tragedy*, by Thomas Kyd, if not in *Jeronimo*, which is to be looked upon as a first part of that drama.³ It is not to be disputed that he was the hero of *The Spanish Tragedy*, at whatever date it may have been produced, since that character is distinctly assigned to him in a manuscript epitaph, which we shall insert at large hereafter, and which contains the following passage:—

‘Jeronimo

Shall cease to mourn his son Horatio :
They cannot call thee from thy naked bed
By horrid outcry.’

The line

‘ They cannot call thee from thy naked bed’

¹ His will bears date 22nd July 1603, and was proved on the 13th February following. See Chalmers’s *Apol.*, p. 387, and *Suppl. Apol.*, p. 162. He directs that his body shall be buried at St. Saviour’s, Southwark, and he leaves 20*l.* for his funeral, and for ‘the setting up of some monument of me in the said church’; but it does not appear that any monument of him was set up; and it is unlikely that he was buried at St. Saviour’s, as his name is not found in the registers, which were very regularly kept. The probability is that he died in the country, whither he may have gone to avoid the plague. See the *Memoir of Thomas Pope* in a subsequent part of this volume.

² The name of Burbage occurs in the ‘plot’ of another drama of the same kind, called *The Dead Man’s Fortune*, which may be found in Malone’s *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 257; but as there is no indication of the Christian name of the actor, and as the ‘plot’ seems very old, older than any other extant piece of the same kind, it is just possible that the ‘Burbage’ may have been James, the father of Richard. It is not at all clear what was the character either of them sustained; it may have been only that of a messenger, for our old actors not merely frequently doubled their parts, but took very inferior duties when occasion required it.

³ Both these dramas are contained in *Dodsley’s Old Plays*, edit. 1825, vol. iii. There was but one old edition of *Jeronimo*, in 1605, but there are many known impressions of *The Spanish Tragedy*, beginning in 1599 (which certainly was not the first) and ending in 1633.

is copied almost literally from an often quoted and ridiculed line in *The Spanish Tragedy*,

'What outcry calls me from my naked bed?'—Act ii, sc. 2.

The Spanish Tragedy may have been originally brought out in 1586, or 1587, about the period when we suppose Shakespeare to have come to London as a member of a theatrical company.

We have mentioned *Jeronimo* as entitled to be considered the first part of *The Spanish Tragedy*; and it most likely, though by no means necessarily, preceded it in date of composition.¹ It is not improbable, if Richard Burbage represented the hero of it, that it was produced on the stage before he had acquired his full growth: nevertheless, he must always have been somewhat below the middle height, and the epitaph just above quoted informs us that his stature was small:—

'Thy stature small, but every thought and mood
Might thoroughly from thy face be understood.'

Several passages may be adduced from *Jeronimo* to establish that whoever played the chief character was of small dimensions; and one or two of these, as it is a question relating to the personal appearance of Burbage, will not be out of place: in one scene Jeronimo exclaims,

'I'll not be long away;
As *short my body*, long shall be my stay;'

and afterwards,

'My mind's a giant, *though my bulk be small*.'

Even supposing Burbage to have been a youth when he first recited these passages, and to have added to his height afterwards, we are warranted in concluding that he was rather a short man, who made up for personal deficiency by the magnitude and quality of his understanding: as in the modern instances of Garrick and Kean, it did not prevent Burbage from filling characters which seem almost

¹ It sometimes happened that a drama having met with extraordinary success, a *first* part was afterwards written to it in haste, in order to take advantage of the tide of popularity: Henslowe's *Diary* supplies various instances in point, and such may have been the case with *Jeronimo*.

necessarily to require elevated stature, as well as dignified deportment. We know, on the authority of the manuscript epitaph, that he was Coriolanus and Brutus, besides being the recognized representative of the parts of Prince Henry and Henry the Fifth. We may be tolerably confident that he was well formed, because he was not only the original Romeo, but at different dates Hamlet, Pericles, and Othello. In all probability the tragedy of *Hamlet* was first performed in the winter of 1601, or in the spring of 1602,¹ and by this date Burbage would seem to have become rather corpulent: Shakespeare, aware of this defect, as regards an ideal representative of the Danish Prince, makes the Queen allude to it in the fencing scene in the last act:—

King.—Our son shall win.

Queen.—

He's fat and scant of breath.—

Here, Hamlet; take this napkin; rub thy brows.'

On this account his figure, late in his career, may have been better adapted to Richard the Third; but that historical play was, perhaps, produced in 1594 or 1595, and at that date Burbage may not have been more than twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old. That he acted Richard the Third we have upon several pieces of contemporary evidence: the epitaph, before mentioned, states it positively; an anecdote, real or imaginary, respecting Shakespeare and Burbage, contained in Manningham's *Diary*, under the date of 1601,² confirms

¹ It has been supposed by some, on the authority of Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, that Joseph Taylor was the original Hamlet, but Wright only speaks of Taylor in the part, without stating that he was the first actor of it: the manuscript epitaph gives it distinctly to Burbage, and we may be confident that Taylor did not take it until after the death of the original representative.

² As this anecdote has been extracted from the MS. (*Harl.*, 5353), in our *Annals of the Stage*, i, 319, and from thence necessarily transferred to various recent biographies of *Shakespeare*, it is not necessary to reprint it here: the only fact it can be said to establish is, that Burbage was the original actor of the part of Richard the Third. A quotation apposite to the anecdote may be made from Middleton's *Mad World, my Masters*, act v, scene 2, where the courtesan tells Sir Bounteous, 'O' my troth, an I were not married, I could find in my heart to fall in love with that player now, and send for him to a supper'.

the statement; and it is further corroborated by Bishop Corbet in his *Iter Boreale*, where he tells us that his host at Leicester,

‘ When he would have said King Richard died,
And call’d a horse ! a horse ! he Burbadge cried ;’

substituting the name of the player for the part he represented. To the list of characters in plays by Shakespeare sustained by Burbage we have still to add Lear and Shylock, so that we may safely decide that he was the chosen representative of all, or nearly all, the serious parts in the productions of our great dramatist. In reference to his personation of Othello, we may cite the concluding stanza of a ballad on the story of that tragedy, obviously written after the death of Burbage, and handed down to our time in a manuscript of about the reign of Charles I.

‘ Dick Burbadge, that most famous man,
That actor without peer,
With this same part his course began,
And kept it many a year.
Shakespeare was fortunate, I trow,
That such an actor had :
If we had but his equal now,
For one I should be glad.’¹

How far the knowledge on the part of Shakespeare, that he had a performer at his service on whom he could always rely, may have tended to the perfection of some of the great works he has left us, is matter of interesting speculation : perhaps the two circumstances acted upon each other reciprocally ; and at all events Burbage became a finer actor than he would otherwise have had an opportunity of being, because he was furnished with characters requiring, and challenging the exertion of his noblest powers. It is an evident mistake in the preceding quotation, where it said that Burbage ‘began his course’ with Othello ; and it may serve to show how little was

¹ This ballad may be seen at length in *New Particulars regarding the Works of Shakespeare*, p. 56. It is not perhaps to be supposed that the description there given of the death of Desdemona is a correct statement of the manner in which Burbage acted that part of the tragedy. The horror of the scene may have been exaggerated by some subsequent and vulgar performer of Othello.

known, even at the time when the ballad was written, of the precise periods when any of Shakespeare's plays were produced ; if there be one point of his literary history recently more clearly established than another, it is that *Othello* was not composed until early in the seventeenth century.¹

Before we proceed farther, it may be well to give at one view the parts in Shakespeare's plays which we now know Burbage represented ; and we accompany their names, somewhat conjecturally of course, with the dates at which there is reason to believe they were brought upon the stage: the characters are in number twelve, viz. : 1. *Shylock*, acted in 1593 ; 2. *Richard III*, 1594 ; 3. *Prince Henry*, 1595 ; 4. *Romeo*, 1596 ; 5. *Henry V*, 1599 ; 6. *Brutus*, 1601 ; 7. *Hamlet*, 1602 ;² 8. *Othello*, 1602 ; 9. *Lear*, 1605 ; 10. *Macbeth*, 1606 ; 11. *Pericles*, 1608 ; 12. *Coriolanus*, 1610.

Respecting other plays by Shakespeare, and other dates, we have no information, at all reliable, in connection with the biography of Richard Burbage.

But this great actor did not, of course, confine himself to the works of Shakespeare, for, as the chief tragedian of the company, it

¹ See *The Egerton Papers*, printed by the Camden Society, p. 343. The company is there called 'Burbidge's Players'; from his eminence, probably, as the leader of the association, and the performer of the hero of the tragedy in August 1602. On the 8th February 1603-4, he represented the body of the company of 'his Majesty's Comedians', when he received at Court 30*l.* as a compensation for not being allowed to perform in public, owing to the prevalence of the plague. Mr. P. Cunningham's *Revels' Accounts*, printed for the Shakespeare Society, Introd., p. xxxv. This seems the only occasion in which Burbage stood forward in this capacity: money for performances at Court was usually received at this date by Heminge, co-editor of the folio of 1623.

² There is no doubt that Burbage is alluded to in the following quotation from *Ratsey's Ghost*, a tract without date, but published four or five years after the production of *Hamlet*. Ratsey is addressing himself to the leading actor in a country association: 'And for you, sirrah, (says he to the cheefest of them) thou hast a good presence upon the stage; methinks thou darkenest thy merit by playing in the country; get thee to London, for *if one man were dead*, they will have much need of such as thou art. There would be none, in my opinion, fitter than thyself to play his parts: my conceit is such of thee, that I durst all the money in my purse on thy head to *play Hamlet with him*, for a wager.'

was his business to perform the leading parts in accepted plays by other dramatists. Ben Jonson informs us that Burbage played in *Every Man in his Humour* (no doubt Kitley, while Shakespeare is conjectured to have been the elder Knowell), in 1598; and in *Every Man out of his Humour*, in 1599: he was most likely Sejanus in the same author's tragedy in 1603; and he had prominent parts (not now to be distinguished) in *Volpone* in 1605, in *Epicæne* in 1609, in the *Alchemist* in 1612, and in *Cateline* in 1611. Ben Jonson was doubtless fully sensible of his obligations to Burbage, and in one of his later plays, acted by a rival company, to which we shall advert more particularly hereafter, he does not hesitate, consistently with the vigorous independence of his character, to pay a just tribute to him.

The epitaph upon Burbage, from which we have derived so much information as regards the parts he sustained in Shakespeare's plays, also furnishes us with a few of those for which he was celebrated in the works of contemporary dramatists: they are the following:—

'Edward, probably Edward II in Christopher Marlowe's tragedy of that name.

'Antonio, in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*; but which of the two parts into which that drama is divided is doubtful.

'Vendice, in Cyril Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy*; but miscalled Vindex in the epitaph.

'Brachiano, in *The White Devil*, by John Webster.¹

'Frankford, in Heywood's *Woman Killed with Kindness*.

'Philaster, in Beaumont and Fletcher's tragedy of the same name.

'Malevole, in Marston's *Malcontent*.'

In fact, the name of Richard Burbage is found appended to the lists of *dramatis personæ* of various other plays of the time, which it is perhaps needless to enumerate: he played, for instance, in *The Captain* and *Valentinian* of Beaumont and Fletcher;² and in the

¹ From the old *Dramatis Personæ* of Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, 1623, we find that R. Burbage took the part of Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria, in that play: after his death it devolved, like Hamlet and some other characters, into the hands of Joseph Taylor.

² One of the latest plays in which Burbage acted must have been Fletcher's

manuscript epitaph we meet with the name of Amintas, as that of a character for which he had been celebrated : we might think it a mistake for Amintor, if we were not perfectly sure that Burbage's part in *The Maid's Tragedy* must have been Melantius : we recollect no play in which Burbage is likely to have appeared, where such a personage as Amintas is met with. With regard to Malevole, in the *Malcontent*, Marston himself informs us, in the 'Induction', (if, indeed, it were not one of Webster's 'additions' to the second impression of that play in 1604)¹ that Burbage was the first representative of the hero.

Burbage is introduced in his own person into this 'Induction'. Sly and Sinklow are brought forward dressed as two gallants, who wish to sit upon the stage during the performance (as was then customary at what were called private theatres, though less usual at public ones), while Burbage, Lowin, and Condell, appear there as members of the company, about to perform in the piece. Burbage and Condell give some explanations to the audience respecting the character of the play, then on the point of commencing, but the former makes his *exit* before the end of the scene, having perhaps to dress for his part; and, after he has gone out, Condell informs Sly and Sinklow that Burbage is to be the Malevole of the night. From this preliminary portion of the play we learn that it had, in the first instance, been performed by a rival company, under the title of *The Malcontent*; but that, with additions, it was that night to be represented by the King's players, with the new name of *One for Another*. It was nevertheless afterwards reprinted, in the same year as the first edition, with a title-page still calling it *The Malcontent*.

In another play, *The Return from Parnassus*, Burbage figures in his own name in the body of the performance. It was not printed until 1606, but internal evidence establishes that it had been written

Loyal Subject, which was licensed by Sir George Buc, the Master of the Revels, on the 15th of November 1618. His name is also found among the actors of *Bonduca*, *The Knight of Malta*, *The Queen of Corinth*, *The Mad Lover*, etc.

¹ There were two editions of *The Malcontent* in 1604, the one by Marston only, the other with additions by Webster.

and acted before the death of Elizabeth. In act iv, scene 3, two Cambridge scholars, called Studioso and Philomusus, employ Burbage and Kempe, the first as the most famous tragedian, and the last as the best comedian of the day, to instruct them in the art of acting. Before the scholars enter, Burbage and Kempe have a conversation, in which, among other matters, Kempe thus speaks of Shakespeare:—

‘Few of the University pen plays well: they smell to much of that writer, Ovid, and that writer, Metamorphosis, and talk too much of Proserpina and Jupiter. Why, here’s our fellow Shakespeare puts them all down; aye, and Ben Jonson too. O! that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow: he brought up Horace, giving the poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him bewray his credit.’

Burbage observes, ‘It is a shrewd fellow, indeed!’ and just afterwards, Studioso and Philomusus enter, to receive their lesson: that of the one is founded upon Burbage’s performance of Jeronimo in the *Spanish Tragedy*, while Kempe gives his pupil instructions as to the mode of playing the part of a verbose and foolish justice. The whole scene affords strong testimony, if any were wanted, of the high reputation of both players in their respective departments.

Having said so much of the characters sustained by Burbage, and of his undisputed excellence as a tragic performer, we may here properly introduce a sketch of his abilities and capabilities, left behind, not indeed by a contemporary, because the writer could never have seen Burbage, but by one who mixed much with players and theatrical affairs, and who must have often heard his praises from numerous persons who had enjoyed an opportunity of personally marking the effects he produced upon his audiences. Such evidence is on some accounts better than that of an eye-witness, who speaks

¹ In spite of what is said by Gifford (Ben Jonson’s *Works*, i, lx) on the import of these expressions, which clearly refer to *The Poetaster*, it seems to us more than probable that Shakespeare had taken some part in the quarrel between Ben Jonson and other poets in consequence of that comedy. Dekker, however, armed himself with the cudgels, and in his *Satiromastix*, 1602, wielded them with more strength than skill, with more fury than effect. Ben Jonson’s wrath was, however, excited, and, as usual, he gave vent to it.

merely from his own observation, and not from traditional authority, founded upon the combined tributes of numerous spectators. We allude to Richard Flecknoe, who, in his *Short Discourse of the English Stage*, printed in 1664,¹ inserted the description of 'an excellent actor', in prose: this he subsequently put into verse, under the title of *The Praises of Richard Burbage*, inscribing it to Charles Hart, who became not much less distinguished after the Restoration. Flecknoe's *Praises* are these, extracted from his *Euterpe Restored*, 1672; and it will be remarked that they begin somewhat abruptly, and read like a fragment of some longer poem.

'THE PRAISES OF RICHARD BURBAGE.

'Who did appear so gracefully on the stage,
 He was the admir'd example of the age,
 And so observ'd all your dramatic laws,
 He ne'er went off the stage but with applause;
 Who his spectators and his auditors
 Led in such silent chains of eyes and ears,
 As none, whilst he on the stage his part did play,
 Had power to speak, or look another way.
 Who a delightful Proteus was, and could
 Transform himself into what shape he would;
 And of an excellent orator had all,
 In voice and gesture, we delightful call:
 Who was the soul of the stage; and we may say
 'Twas only he who gave life unto a play;
 Which was but dead, as 'twas by the author writ,
 Till he by action animated it:
 And finally he did on the stage appear
 Beauty to the eye, and music to the ear.
 Such even the nicest critics must allow
 Burbage was once; and such Charles Hart is now.'²

If we may believe some authorities, and there is no reason to doubt

¹ It is appended to his drama of *Love's Kingdom*, which had originally appeared with the date of 1654: when it was republished, ten years afterwards, it was much altered, and to this impression the *Short Discourse of the English Stage* was first added.

² That the reader may judge how accurately Flecknoe in these verses repeated himself, and what he had said eight years before in prose, we subjoin the com-

them, Burbage was not only a great painter of living portraits upon the stage, but a limner of dead ones upon canvas: he was an artist as well as an actor, and attained considerable skill as a delineator of likenesses in oil-colours. In a manuscript volume belonging to the late Mr. Heber, of a date not much posterior to the time when Burbage flourished, is found a brief epitaph upon him, thus headed—

‘On the death of that great master in his art and quality, *painting* and playing, R. Burbage.’

It is subscribed with the name of his contemporary, Thomas Middleton, the dramatic poet, and we may infer, perhaps, that Burbage received some instructions in the art of painting. This is to present his character in entirely a new light, and it may be a matter of interesting speculation, whether he were not the painter of the very picture from which the engraving of Shakespeare was made by Martin Droeshout, on the title-page of the folio of our great dramatist's works in 1623. If there were so many portraits of Shakespeare, as some have supposed, the play-editors might have found one, without much difficulty, with better pretensions as a work of art; and possibly (we only say possibly) one reason why Heminge and Condell took that upon which they employed the skill of Martin Droeshout was, because it had been painted by the actor who had figured so prominently in many of Shakespeare's plays, and who must have known him so intimately. It will be recollected that in this respect there was a commencement of his description of ‘an excellent actor’ from his *Short Discourse of the English Stage*—

‘He was a delightful Proteus, so wholly transforming himself into his part, and putting off himself with his clothes, as he never (not so much as in the tiring house) assumed himself again, until the play was done. . . . He had all the parts of an excellent orator, animating his words with speaking, and speech with action, his auditors being never more delighted than when he spake, nor more sorry than when he held his peace: yet even then he was an excellent actor still, never failing in his part when he had done speaking, but with his looks and gesture maintaining still unto the height,’ etc.

Malone was acquainted with this quotation (introduced by Flecknoe, with some praises of Richard Burbage and N. Field), but was not aware that in a later production Flecknoe had put it into rhyme, and had expressly applied it to Burbage. See *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 185.

striking similarity between Burbage and another great actor, Betterton, who died rather less than a century after him: Betterton was also much devoted to the easel, and arrived, according to the evidence of some of his contemporaries, at no little excellence in painting the portraits of his friends and associates. Middleton's epitaph, or more properly epigram, excepting in its title, does not at all relate to Burbage in his capacity as a painter, but to his death and 'quality' (a term almost technical when applied to the profession of the stage) as an actor, and we have found a more appropriate place for it hereafter.

During the whole period that Richard Burbage was connected with the Blackfriars and the Globe playhouses, theatrical speculations appear to have been highly profitable. In *The Return from Parnassus*, before quoted, Kempe tells the two Cambridge students, who sought instruction from himself and Burbage, 'Be merry, lads; you have happened upon the most excellent vocation in the world for money: they come north and south to bring it to our playhouse'; and it would be a matter of no difficulty to accumulate much other testimony to the same effect.¹ The fact is, that nearly all the performers and sharers of that day, who had common prudence, died rich: Burbage, from his youth upwards, must have been in the receipt of a considerable income, but it may be doubted whether he was what is usually called a careful man, until comparatively late in his career.

We now return to the domestic incidents in the life of Richard Burbage, who, we have seen, was the person ostensibly concerned in the building of the Globe Theatre, which there is good reason to believe was completed in 1594, and opened in 1595.² Early in the spring of 1597, he lost his father, whom we have supposed to have retired from theatrical affairs for some years: he was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and the registration, which is in the following form, records as usual that the body was brought from their abode in Holywell Street:—

¹ See this subject adverted to, and some evidence supplied, in an article in one of the volumes of *The Shakespeare Society's Papers*.

² This point is considered and discussed in Collier's *Life of Shakespeare*, i, cxlviii, edit. 1844.

'1596.—James Burbage was buried the second daye of February.—Halliwell.'

The widow continued to reside in the same place for about sixteen years afterwards; and Cuthbert Burbage, her eldest son, as far as we have any means of knowing, was also an inhabitant of the same street, if not of the same house. He must have married before 1595, because on the 22nd June in that year was baptized at St. Leonard's 'Walter Burbedge, the son of Cuthbert Burbedge'. On the 15th of July succeeding the death of his father, he buried a son, who had been named James, no doubt, after the person who may be considered the founder of this branch of the family. The baptism of the boy is not to be found in the registers that contain his burial, and we have no means of ascertaining his age, but it is stated, as before, that the parents lived in Holywell Street. The same circumstance is noted in the registers on the 30th December 1601, when 'Elizabeth Burbedge, the daughter of Cuthbert', was baptized. Cuthbert's shop was at the Royal Exchange.

Richard Burbage became a married man about the date to which we are now adverting, or a little earlier. The Christian name of his wife was Winifred, and that is nearly all that is known about her: whether she came from town or country we must remain in ignorance, and no record has been discovered of their union, or of the birth of their first child, Richard:¹ that they had such a son is certain (although Malone was not aware of it), for the registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, mention, under date of 16th August 1607, that 'Richard Burbedge, the son of Richard Burbidge', was then interred. On the same authority we find that on 2nd January 1602-3, 'Julia Burbedge, the daughter of Richard Burbedge', was baptized, and this is the earliest notice in the books of any of the offspring of

¹ Unsuccessful search has been made in the registers of various churches near the theatres in Shoreditch, at Blackfriars, and on the Bankside. It may be worth notice here that a person of the name of Robert Burbage lived in the High Street, within the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and that he was a linen-draper. His name often occurs in the registers and token-books, but we have not been able to trace any relationship between him and the subject of our memoir. There were also Burbages, brewers, in Cripple-gate, near the Fortune Theatre.

Winifred Burbage. When Julia Burbage was buried on the 12th September 1608, her name was entered by the clerk *Juliet*, and hence it has been inferred that such was her real appellation, and that her parents had been directed to the choice of it by their fondness for the heroine of one of Shakespeare's tragedies, in which the father had gained extraordinary distinction.¹

In 1603, therefore, Richard and Winifred Burbage had two children living, and on the 16th September in the following year another daughter was baptized, Frances, at St. Leonard's; but the infant only lived a few days, its burial having been recorded on the 19th September. They had no more children, at least none were registered at their parish church, until 8th August 1607, when 'Anne Burbidge, the daughter of Richard Burbidge', was baptized; but, as already mentioned, eight days afterwards they had the misfortune to lose their eldest son, Richard, who must have been at least seven or eight years of age. This severe blow was succeeded, on the 12th September 1608, by the death of Julia Burbage, so that the father and mother were at this date left with only one daughter, Anne. It will not be forgotten that Anne was the name of Shakespeare's wife;

¹ 'His fondness for the name of Juliet perhaps arose from his having been the original Romeo in our author's play.'—Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 183. This speculation is improbable, because, when Richard Burbage had another daughter in 1614, he named her *Julia*, and not Juliet: when she was buried in the next year she was also registered as *Julia*, and it seems likely that she was named after her sister, who had died in 1608. The entries at St. Leonard's run precisely thus, giving us varieties of the name even in the same entry:—

'1602.—Julia Burbadge, the daughter of Richard Burbadge, baptized 2 Januarie.

'1608.—Juliet Burbege, the daughter of Richard Burbidge, was buryed the 12 of September.

'1614.—Julya Burbadge, the daughter of Richard Burbadge, baptized 26 December.

'1615.—Julia Burbadge, the daughter of Richard Burbadge, was buried the 15th day of August.'

Malone introduces the second Julia with an *alias*, 'a second Juliet, or Julia', but there is no pretext for it in the registers.

² Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 183.

and we shall see hereafter, as indeed has been already noticed, that Richard Burbage named one of his sons William. It is remarkable, too, that William and Anne were the only children that appear to have survived their parents.

Unless they were registered elsewhere (as we suppose Richard, who died in 1607, to have been), while Burbage and his wife were upon some theatrical expedition in the country, they ceased to add to their family between 1607, when Anne was born, and 1613, when Winifred (named, of course, after her mother) came into the world.¹ This event happened on the 10th October, but Winifred only lived till the 14th October 1616. In the meantime her mother produced another daughter, which, on the 26th December 1614, was baptized Julia. Richard and Winifred Burbage seem to have been very unfortunate in losing their offspring in infancy, for this second Julia only survived until 15th August, and was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. Thus out of six children, born between about 1600 and 1615, they had now only one left.

William Burbage, who has been mentioned by no preceding biographer (and whom we have supposed to have been named after Shakespeare, then recently dead), was born, according to the register of St. Leonard's, on 6th November 1616. We quote the exact form of the entry, because it relates to the namesake of our great dramatist, and because it has hitherto escaped all notice:—

'1616.—William Burbadge, son of Richard Burbadz, baptized 6 November 1616.—Halywell Street.'

No entry of the burial of a William Burbage occurs at any date in the same registers, and we know that he lived until 1633, because he is recorded in that year to have been one of the 'owners of the inheritance' of the Blackfriars Theatre. The other proprietor of the freehold was his uncle, Cuthbert Burbage (who died in 1636), and from them there appears to have been an intention, on the part of

¹ It is not unlikely that, in consequence of the mortality in his family, Richard Burbage, after the birth of his daughter Anne, then his only child, removed his wife for a time from the neighbourhood of Shoreditch, and left her in the country while he pursued his professional career in London.

the city authorities, to purchase the playhouse, in order to abate what had long been considered a nuisance. Four magistrates were appointed, in 1633, to ascertain the value of the premises, and their original report upon the subject is in the possession of the writer of the present memoir.¹ James Burbage, the father of Cuthbert and Richard, as already stated, was the first builder and owner of the Blackfriars Theatre, and at his death, in February 1597, he left it to his two sons. At the demise of Richard Burbage his share came to his only son, William, but his brother Cuthbert was still alive when the negociation for the sale of the playhouse was commenced in 1633. Whether Cuthbert Burbage, like Richard, had been originally brought up by his father to the profession of the stage is by no means certain, but as a bookseller his name was usually spelt Burby, as if for distinction, and under that name he published *Edward the Third* in 1596, *Love's Labour Lost* in 1598, and the authentic edition of *Romeo and Juliet*, in 1599, printed to supersede the spurious copy of 1597; but we do not find his name connected with any other early impressions of the plays of Shakespeare.

The profession of the stage, especially to such as were sharers in companies, and owners of theatres, must have been highly profitable towards the end of the sixteenth and in the commencement of the seventeenth centuries; and there is little room for doubt that Richard Burbage had been gradually accumulating property, and adding to that which his father had left to him and to his brother. His repu-

¹ It appears from it, that in 1633 Cuthbert and William Burbage, 'who (in the terms of the report) had the inheritance' of the Blackfriars playhouse, received a rent of 50*l.* per annum from the company for the use of it: this they valued at fourteen years' purchase, and therefore claimed 700*l.* as the value: they were also the owners of four adjacent tenements, let at a rental of 75*l.* per annum, and 'a void piece of ground to turn coaches in', which they estimated at 6*l.* per annum: these also, at fourteen years' purchase, would come to 1134*l.*, so that their whole demand for the transference of the property was 1834*l.* In 1633 money is supposed to have been rather less than four times its present value, so that the whole estate may have been worth nearly 7000*l.* The report, or 'certificate' as it is called, is subscribed, Will. Baker, Humphrey Smith, Lawr. Whitaker, and Willm. Childe—the last the ancestor to the banker.

tation and popularity were extraordinary, and his emoluments from various sources must have been large, and he was evidently much looked up to by his fellow-actors. In 1605, Augustine Phillips, the celebrated comedian of the same company, made him an overseer of his will, and (in case of the re-marriage of his widow, Anne Phillips) one of his executors, with a present of a silver bowl of the value of 5*l.*: the other overseers and contingent executors were John Heminge (who, as is well known, lived to be one of the joint editors of Shakespeare's Plays in 1623), William Sly, the actor, and Timothy Whithorne (regarding whom nothing is known), who each had similar bowls, while various bequests were made by the testator to his brother actors and friends; among them 'a thirty-shilling piece in gold' to William Shakespeare. The widow of Phillips married again prior to the 16th May 1607, when Heminge, according to the provision in the will of her late husband, proved it as executor; but Burbage, Sly, and Whithorne, the other overseers, do not seem to have interfered on the occasion.

The last extract we have made from the register of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, establishes that Burbage still resided in Holywell Street, perhaps in the very house his father had inhabited, and left to him. In and about this spot a nest of actors had collected, originally attracted, and afterwards detained there, by the vicinity of two of the oldest, if not the very oldest, theatres in or near the metropolis. This was, no doubt, the motive that induced James Burbage to settle there prior to 1576, when his daughter Alice was baptized at St. Leonard's. Besides the Blackfriars, he must have been a sharer in the Curtain or the Theatre, and we feel confident that his property in one or both of these playhouses descended to his sons, who continued inhabitants of the same district.¹ Malone thought it strange that Richard Burbage should have continued there, recollecting that Holywell Street was at such a distance from the Blackfriars and Globe;² but he did not advert to the cir-

¹ No will by James Burbage is to be found in the Prerogative Office, although he died and was buried in London. It is possible that he made none, and that his two sons amicably divided his property.

² Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 183.

cumstance that his dwelling-house was probably his own, and that he might still have had a considerable interest in the receipts at the old playhouses in Shoreditch.

While the Globe was in a course of construction in 1594, and while the Blackfriars was under repair in 1596, it seems most improbable that the Lord Chamberlain's servants, a highly popular association, would confine themselves to a joint occupation, with Henslowe and Alleyn, of a theatre in Newington Butts: that they did perform at Newington Butts at this period is incontrovertibly proved by Henslowe's *Diary* of his theatrical transactions. Our strong belief is, that Richard Burbage was interested in the receipts of a theatre in Shoreditch, at the same time that he was one of the owners of the Blackfriars, and a large sharer in the Globe: that Thomas Pope, an eminent actor in the same company as Burbage, had a 'right, title, and interest' in the Curtain Theatre, as well as in the Globe, and at the same time, is established by his will in 1603.

Very shortly after Shakespeare is supposed to have retired to Stratford-upon-Avon, and to have separated himself from theatrical concerns, a calamity happened at the Globe, which probably no care on his part, had he been present, nor on that of any other person who was there, could have avoided. During the performance of a play called *All is True* (a revival, perhaps, of Shakespeare's *Henry the Eighth*, under a new title)¹ on the 29th June 1613, the Globe was burned down, owing to some sparks discharged from theatrical artillery lodging on the thatch with which the stage was roofed. This must, of course, have been a distressing event to the leaders of the company, whom we have supposed sharers in the house, as well as in the receipts; but the loss, for aught we know, may have fallen peculiarly upon Burbage, who was part owner of the Blackfriars playhouse, and may have been *sole owner* of the Globe, as he alone

¹ See *Shakespeare*, v, 496, edit. 1844, where a different opinion is expressed; but the writer of the present memoir is induced to qualify, if not to question the judgment there stated. Sir H. Wotton may have termed *All is True* a new play, not having heard that it was merely a new title to an old play. Marston's *Malcontent* was performed under a second title in its first year.

entered into the agreement under which it had been constructed in 1594. Burbage was present at the fire, as we find stated in a poor ballad, no doubt published on the occasion, because it was then entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company, but which has only come down to us in manuscript:¹ it is entitled, *A Sonnet on the pitiful Burning of the Globe Playhouse in London*; and the subsequent stanza mentions Burbage, who, if the play were *Henry the Eighth* under the title of *All is True*, must have been the representative of Cardinal Wolsey on the day of the fire.

‘Out run the knights, out run the lords,
And there was great ado;
Some lost their hats, and some their swords,
Then out run Burbadge too:
The reprobates, though drunk on Monday,
Pray'd for the Fool and Henry Condry.’²

This shows also that the calamity occurred on Monday; and Henry Condry, so called for the sake of the rhyme, was, of course, Henry Cundall, the joint-editor with Heminge of the folio of 1623. It was possibly mainly owing to this disaster, that not a single line, in manuscript of the time, of a play by Shakespeare has been preserved:³ they might all be consumed, with the rest of the stock, in the fire at the Globe.

¹ It may be seen at length in the *Annals of the Stage*, i, 371.

² The following stanza from the same ballad shows that the play, in a course of representation, was on the events of the reign of Henry VIII; and the burden, *All this is true*, confirms the notion that the drama bore that title on the occasion:

‘All you that please to understand,
Come listen to my story;
To see Death, with his raking brand,
’Mongst such an auditory,
Regarding neither Cardinal's might,
Nor the rugged face of Henry the Eight.
Oh sorrow! pitiful sorrow! and yet All this is true.’

³ Perhaps we ought to except his *Henry the Fourth*, printed by the Shakespeare Society, under the care of Mr. Halliwell, from a MS. belonging to Sir Edward Dering; but it may be doubted whether the MS. be quite as old as the time of Shakespeare.

The house was rebuilt in the next year, in a great degree at the expense of the king and the nobility;¹ and what before had been thatch was replaced by tiles, so that a similar accident could not again happen from the same cause: therefore, let who will have been the proprietor or proprietors of the consumed edifice, they were not ultimately such severe sufferers as might have been expected. It has generally been concluded, though in the absence of any distinct information upon the point, that Shakespeare had no interest in the Globe at the period of its destruction, having disposed of what property he might have had in it before his removal from the metropolis. The probability certainly is, that most of the principal actors were sharers, in various proportions, in the theatre, as well as in what were called 'the takings', and that the loss, whatever it might be, was thus subdivided among them.²

In his progress to the highest rank in the loftiest walk of his profession, and during the period he maintained himself in that position, Burbage had, of course, rivals, but his popularity never appears to have declined. His chief competitor, until about the year 1605 or 1606, was Edward Alleyn, who was at the head of an association, playing, until 1601, at the Rose Theatre, near the Globe on the Bankside, and subsequently at the Fortune, in Golden Lane, Cripplegate. This contention is referred to in some coeval lines preserved at Dulwich College, in which Burbage is called 'Roscius Richard',³

¹ See the *Life of Shakespeare*, preceding the edition of his works by the present editor in 1844, p. ccxli.

² At a date considerably subsequent to the fire, we find that the Globe Theatre had become the property of Sir Thomas Brand. This fact is stated in some old records preserved at St. Saviour's, Southwark, and explains how it happened that he had the power of pulling it down in 1644. See *Collier's Shakespeare*, i, ccxlii, edit. 1844.

³ He is doubtless also the Roscius mentioned in the following epigram, from *The Furies*, by Richard Nichols. 8vo. 1614.

In Fuscum.

Fuscus is turn'd a player; for in rage
He lately left his function for the stage,
In hope to out-act Roscius in a scene;
In care of which the fellow's grown so lean

but which it is unnecessary to repeat here, as they are inserted at length in the *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, printed by the Shakespeare Society.¹ Ben Jonson mentions another of Burbage's rivals at a later date, coupling them as if they were nearly equally celebrated: we allude to act v, scene 3, of his *Bartholomew Fair*, which the author himself tells us was originally played at the Hope, another theatre on the Bankside, on 31st October, 1614. He there thus introduces the name of Burbage:—

'Cokes.—I thank you for that, Master Little-wit; a good jest! Which is your Burbage now?

Leatherhead.—What mean you by that, sir?

Cokes.—Your best actor, your Field.'—*Jonson's Works by Gifford*, iv, 512.

To speak of Burbage and Field together in this way was not intended by the writer as any disparagement of the former, to whose exertions Ben Jonson, like Shakespeare, had been indebted; but the author of *Cynthia's Revels*, *The Poetaster*, and *Epicæne*, was under peculiar obligations to Nathaniel Field for the admirable performance of the parts allotted to him; and there can be no doubt, on other and more impartial authority, that although, in 1614, Field was a much younger man than Burbage, he enjoyed a large share of popularity. Neither did Field's character stand high as an actor only, for he was the author of two excellent comedies, *Woman is a Weathercock*, 1612, and *Amends for Ladies*,² 1618. As far as we can judge, the low jealousy, since sometimes displayed among actors of different grades, did not then prevail to any offensive extent—at least

That all men pity him: but, Fuscus, know,
Players do now as plentifully grow
As spawn of frogs in March; yet evermore
The great devour the less. Be wise, therefore;
Procure thou some commendatory letter
For the Burmoother—'tis a course far better.

¹ In 1841, p. 13; the first work issued by the Society.

² Both were reprinted (with three other excellent dramas) in 1829, in a supplemental volume to *Dodsley's Old Plays*, last edit. Field also, as is well known, joined Massinger in the composition of *The Fatal Dowry*.

we meet with few traces of it in any of the records of the time, and Burbage always stood so well in public estimation, that through life he had no reason to fear a competitor. Alleyn, Kempe, and other actors of celebrity, tragic and comic, not unfrequently, according to the custom of the time, had money staked upon them in friendly wagers, that in the opinion of certain judges they would exceed particular rivals; but nobody seems to have supposed that it would be possible to enter successfully into such a contest with Burbage.

It is an opinion formed upon such scanty materials as have descended to us, that in the year 1604 the King's players, when performing at the Globe, were very much under the control and management of Shakespeare. He is generally supposed to have quitted the more active duties of the profession about this period; and certain it is, that just afterwards the company became involved in troubles, from which they had previously escaped. We allude to an offence given to the Court, at the close of 1604, by the performance of a drama upon Gowry's Conspiracy; to an insult offered to the city authorities in the winter of 1605; and to a complaint to the King by the French ambassador in 1606, that in a play by George Chapman the Queen of France had been brought upon the stage in a derogatory manner: even James I did not escape ridicule; and the consequence was, that for a short time dramatic performances were entirely suspended in London. We can hardly suppose that Burbage was not concerned in some of these disasters; but the names of Kempe and Armin are those only which are mentioned in any of the documents. A few years afterwards, indeed, Burbage was implicated, but on a very different and venial account.

From early times actors were not allowed to exhibit during Lent; but by degrees the Master of the Revels had exercised the power of granting dispensations, excepting on what were termed sermon-days. In March 1615, for some unexplained reason, the Lord Chamberlain issued an order, prohibiting all dramatic representations during Lent, which order appears to have been disregarded by several of the companies in London. A warrant, dated 29th March, was therefore put into the hands of the messengers of the Privy Council, requiring

Heminge, Burbage,¹ and other performers named in it, belonging to different associations, to appear on the Friday following, at eight in the morning, to answer for their conduct. The register of the Privy Council contains no farther notice of the transaction, and it is therefore probable that the offenders were not compelled to attend, having in the meantime made due and satisfactory submission.² We conclude that during the whole of Lent that year there were no theatrical performances, but afterwards the Lord Chamberlain seems to have permitted the Master of the Revels again to exercise a discretionary jurisdiction.

A few months after thus incurring the displeasure of persons in authority, Burbage and his wife, as already mentioned, sustained a domestic affliction by the loss of their second Julia; she was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on the 15th August 1615, and in the next year they lost their daughter Winifred, who was buried on the 14th October: they were consoled in less than a month afterwards by the birth of their son William, who came into the world rather more

¹ In his *Masque of Christmas* (as Malone has observed) Burbage and 'old Mr. Heminge' are spoken of together as the heads of the King's players.

² The following is the entry in the registers of the Privy Council, and we insert it chiefly to bring before the reader the names of the different players included in the accusation:—

'29 March 1615. A Warrant to Sentie, one of the messengers. Whereas John Hemmings, Richard Burbadge, Christopher Beeston: Robert Lee, William Rowley, John Newton, Thomas Downton, Humphrey Jeffes, with others, stage-players in and about the city of London, have presumed, notwithstanding the commandment of the Lord Chamberlain signified unto them by the Master of the Revels, to play this prohibited time of Lent. These are, therefore, to will and command you to make your repair unto the persons above named, and to charge them, in his Majesty's name, to make their appearance here before us, of his Majesty's Privy Council, on Friday next, at eight o'clock of the forenoon, without any excuse or delay. And in the meantime that neither they, nor the rest of their company, presume to present any plays or interludes, as they will answer the contrary at their perils.'

The only actors in this enumeration who appear to have belonged to the company of the King's players were Heminge and Burbage: the rest were chiefly performers at the Fortune Theatre.

than six months posterior to the death of the great dramatist, after whom we have supposed him to have been named, in affectionate remembrance of long intimacy and ardent admiration.

At this date, according to our conjecture as to the period of his birth, Richard Burbage was about forty-nine years old, and he continued in full possession of his powers, and to give the town the benefit of them, for about four years afterwards: he died, as we can now prove, on the 13th March 1618-19,¹ the day when Malone supposed him to have expired, and not on the 9th March, as erroneously stated by Camden in his *Annals of James I*, where he styles him *alter Roscius*—‘1619. Martij 9. Richardus Burbadge, alter Roscius, obiit’. The manuscript epitaph, to which we have before often referred, gives not only the day of the month, but the day of the week when he expired, viz., ‘on Saturday in Lent’, 13th March. He was buried three days afterwards at St. Leonard’s, Shorditch, and we subjoin an exact copy of the register:—‘1618. Richard Burbadge, player, was buried the xvjth of March—Halliwell Street.’ It was not very common in this parish to record the occupation of the deceased; but this instance was an exception to the rule, as a tribute, perhaps, to the celebrity of the individual in his quality. We have no trace that Burbage ever resided in Southwark; but it is remarkable that, in one of the old books preserved at St. Saviour’s, the death of Burbage is briefly noted, as if it were so important an event in the district in which the Globe Theatre was situated, as to require some memorandum by the clerk: his words are, ‘Mr. Burbadge dyed 1618’, without giving the month or day. Having expired on the 13th March, he had made his will, which is nuncupative, only on the preceding day, and in the following form:—

‘Memorandum.—That on Friday the twelfth of March, anno Domini one thousand six hundred and eighteen, Richard Burbadge, of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the county of Middlesex, gent., being sick in body, but of good and perfect remembrance, did make his last will and testament nuncupa-

¹ In *The History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage*, vol. i, p. 430, it is stated by a mistake (of which others have availed themselves) that Burbage died on 13th March 1619-20.

time, in manner and form following, viz.:—he, the said Richard, did nominate and appoint his well-beloved wife, Winifride Burbadge, to be sole executrix of all his goods and chattels whatsoever, in the presence and hearing of the persons undernamed:—Cuthbert Burbadge, brother to the testator; the mark of + Elizabeth, his wife; Nicholas Tooley; Anne Lancaster; Richard Robinson; the mark of + Elizabeth Graves; Henry Jacksonne.¹

The widow did not prove the will until more than a month afterwards, and it was duly entered thus:—

‘Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum apud London, coram iudice, 22° Aprilis 1619, juramento Winifredæ Burbadge relictæ dicti defuncti, et executricis in eodem testamento nominatæ, cui commissa fuit administratio de bene, &c., jurat.’

She was left by her husband *enceinte*, and in the beginning of August she gave birth to a daughter, who was baptized at St. Leonard's as ‘Sara, the daughter of Wynnefred Burbadge, widow’, on the 5th August 1619. Thus three children survived the father—Anne, William, and Sarah; but the last was buried on 29th April 1625, a fact thus recorded in the register of St. Leonard's, although Malone and Chalmers failed to discover it:—‘1625. Sara Burbage was buried the 29th of Aprill.’ Cuthbert Burbage, ‘brother to the testator’, and Elizabeth his wife (who made her mark as a witness to the will of Richard Burbage), both died in 1636, and were both buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, from Holywell Street; the first on the 17th September, and the last on the 1st October. Nicholas Tooley and Richard Robinson, two other witnesses to the will, were actors enumerated in the list at the beginning of the folio of *Shakespeare's Plays* in 1623; but of Anne Lancaster, Elizabeth Graves, and Henry Jackson, the three other witnesses, nothing seems to be known.

Malone is silent upon the point, but Chalmers asserts, without qualification, that Richard Burbage was ‘carried off by the plague’.²

¹ The will was written on a sheet of ordinary foolscap by the ‘brother to the testator’, as appears by the identity of the handwriting of Cuthbert Burbage when he subscribed it as the first witness: he wrote a remarkably plain fine hand, and as if he had been educated a scrivener. It occupies, including the signatures of the witnesses and the jurat, only one side of the sheet.

² *Apology for the Believers*, etc., p. 428.

Such may have been the case, but there exists no evidence to support the statement, and one or two facts may be adduced, which are strongly opposed to it. The first of these is, that having died on the 13th March, he was not buried until three days afterwards: under any circumstances it was not at that period usual to keep a corpse above ground so long as three days; but we should think it most unlikely, if death had been produced by so infectious and malignant a disorder, as that species of putrid fever then denominated the plague. This alone would appear conclusive; but, in addition, we may mention, that no virulent disease of the kind was at that time so prevalent as to put a stop to performances at the theatres, which was always the case when the mortality in London was considerably above the average. The terms also of the manuscript epitaph upon Burbage (which we shall presently quote at large) do not support the notion that he died of the plague, but rather of paralysis, which first affected his speech:—

‘Hadst thou but spoke to Death, and us’d the power
Of thy enchanting tongue, at that first hour
Of his assault, he had let fall his dart,
And quite been charm’d with thy all-charming art:
This Death well knew, and, to prevent this wrong,
He first made seizure on thy wondrous tongue,
Then on the rest,’ &c.

The suddenness of the attack, which is always the case with paralysis, may account for the fact that Burbage left no written testament behind him.

There is one document in existence, which, had we no other evidence to the contrary, might have been considered sufficient to prove that Burbage lived until after the 27th March 1619: it is a Privy Seal, bearing date at Westminster on that day, authorizing the King’s servants to continue their performances at the Blackfriars and Globe at all times, when the deaths in London by ‘the infection of the plague’ did not exceed forty in the week: in the list of players, so licensed anew, the name of Richard Burbage comes second (following that of John Heminge), as if he were still an acting member of the

company, although he had really been dead a fortnight.¹ How to explain the circumstance we know not, unless the instrument had been drawn up, though not signed, before the illness of Burbage; or unless the fact, sufficiently notorious, were in some way concealed from persons in authority, lest it should make some difference as to the concession of the privilege. The object of this renewal of the royal license of May 1603, was clearly to settle the right of the players to persevere in their performances in the Blackfriars, which, even as recently as January 1618-19, the Lord Mayor had made a fresh effort to terminate by his own authority.

It is quite true that theatrical representations were entirely suspended at the time of the death of Richard Burbage, not because it was Lent, nor on account of the prevalence of the plague, but in consequence of the recent death of Queen Anne, who had expired on 1st March. The royal funeral was postponed until 29th April, and did not take place until 13th May, during the whole of which time no plays were permitted to be acted. This circumstance is adverted to in Middleton's lines on the death of Burbage, as painter and player, the heading of which we have already given (and which we now subjoin, from a manuscript once the property of Mr. Heber:—

‘Astronomers and star-gazers this year
Write but of four eclipses—five appear:
Death interposing Burbage, and their staying,
Hath made a visible eclipse of playing.’—THO. MIDDLETON.

Their staying refers to the inhibition of all plays until after the Queen's funeral, which is also mentioned in a letter from John Chamberlaine, the correspondent of Sir Dudley Carlton then ambassador at the Hague: his communication bears date the 19th March, six days after the decease of Burbage, and its contents are important in reference to the subject of the present memoir, because we learn from it that Burbage, according to report at the time, had died rich; that is to say, worth about 1200*l.* a year, of our present money, in

¹ For the document itself, with an entire list of the company at this date, see our *Annals of the Stage*, vol. i, p. 399.

land, without taking into account personal property. Chamberlaine's words are these :—'The funeral [of the Queen] is put off to the 29th of next month, to the great hinderance of our players, which are forbidden to play so long as her body is above ground: one special man among them, Burbage, is lately dead, and hath left, they say, better than 300*l.* land.'¹

In the language of that time, the terms '300*l.* land' meant 300*l.* a year in land, and money is calculated to have been then at least four times as valuable as at present. Burbage's will was evidently made *in extremis*, although he lived until the next day, or it would have been put into writing and subscribed; and nothing is said in it about the amount or description of any of his property, excepting that he left his wife 'sole executrix of all his goods and chattels', under which terms, of course, lands would not pass: we are to understand, therefore, that he left the disposal of his landed property to the ordinary and known operation of the law. He was interred, as before stated, on the 16th March, and the Register of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, records the event precisely in the manner we have pointed out on a preceding page.

Of course 16th March 1618, in the entry, is 1619, according to our present mode of computing the year; and 'Halliwell Street' meant Holywell Street, where the Burbages had long resided.

The sudden and unexpected death of Burbage, the chief supporter of all the great tragic parts at the Blackfriars and at the Globe, must have been a severe blow to the company: how they recovered from it is not ascertained, but as Queen Anne was not buried, and the different associations could not therefore begin to act again until 13th May, they had nearly two months to find substitutes for Burbage; for it is not likely that any one performer would have been deemed equal to the numerous characters in which he had so long given his audiences complete satisfaction. Before 1619 we find Nathaniel Field one of the King's players; but there is reason to believe that Joseph Taylor was again taken into the association

¹ *Shakespeare*, 1844, vol. i, p. 222. The original letter from Chamberlaine is in the State Paper Office.

about that date : these two, and John Lowen, divided Burbage's parts among them : we gather from Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, that Hamlet was one of the characters to which Taylor succeeded.¹

Many elegiac effusions were, no doubt, poured forth on the death of Burbage, since not a few poets must have been under heavy obligations to him, and must have felt his loss severely : however, only three or four of these have survived ; and what remain to us are anything but favourable specimens of the abilities of their authors : not one of them, as far as we know, was printed at the time. '*Exit Burbadge*', is the simple inscription assigned to him in a volume among the *Ashmolean MSS.*,² which also found its way into *Camden's Remains* by Philpotts : it is brief, but in much better taste than some of the more laboured productions on the occasion. Take, for instance, the subsequent, which is found in *MS. Sloane*, No. 1786, in the British Museum :—

'EPITAPH ON MR. RICHARD BURBAGE, THE PLAYER.

'This life 's a play, scened out by nature's art,
Where every man hath his allotted part.
This man hath now, as many men can tell,
Ended his part, and he hath acted well.
The play now ended, think his grave to be
The retiring house of his sad tragedy ;
Where to give his fame this be not afraid :
Here lies the best tragedian ever play'd.'

The truth of this (which is rather inaccurately quoted by Malone)³ may be justly deemed its sole recommendation ; and it is not only supported by the evidence supplied by the characters Burbage is known to have sustained, but by the opinion of Sir Richard Baker,

¹ His words are only, 'Taylor acted Hamlet incomparably well', and hence some have hastily supposed that he was the original Hamlet, but the fact, as will be seen presently, is otherwise. Burbage was the first Hamlet, and Taylor only took the part after the death of the person whom Shakespeare chose as the representative of the Danish prince.

² *MS. Ashmol.*, No. 38, fol. 190.

³ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, vol. iii, p. 186.

who was a competent judge from his tastes and acquirements, was well acquainted with the estimation in which Burbage was held by his contemporaries, and must have had many opportunities of seeing him : Sir Richard Baker, as Malone informs us, was born in 1568, and died in 1645. He says that 'Richard Burbage and Edward Alleyn were two such actors as no age must ever look to see the like'.¹ The instructions to the players in *Hamlet* prove indisputably that Shakespeare was perfectly acquainted with the theory of acting, and throughout his career he had the opportunity of seeing the practice of it admirably illustrated by Burbage.

We have now only to subjoin the elegy upon Burbage, from which we have already made several quotations, and which was copied many years ago from a manuscript in the possession of the late Mr. Heber : it contains, as we have shown, an enumeration of various parts in which Burbage was distinguished ; but the same collector had another copy, less full and perfect in this respect, as if the author had not intended in the first instance to give Burbage's characters, because they were matters of notoriety at the time, although he afterwards thought fit to introduce them, in order to render his tribute more complete. As far as posterity is concerned, we are much obliged to him ; for, had he not done so, we could only have guessed at the representative of most of Shakespeare's characters, forming our judgment, as to Burbage's claim, upon the prominence of the personage in the drama, and the eminence of the actor in the association. Little can be advanced on the merits of the ensuing production ; and though to some an apology may seem necessary for its length, others, who are interested in such matters, would be satisfied with no excuse, were we to omit any part of it.

'A FUNERAL ELEGY

ON THE DEATH OF THE FAMOUS ACTOR, RICHARD BURBADGE, WHO DIED
ON SATURDAY IN LENT, THE 13TH OF MARCH 1618.

'Some skilful limner help me ! If not so,
Some sad tragedian to express my woe !

¹ *Chronicle*, fol., London, 1653, p. 581.

Alas ! he's gone, that could the best, both limn
 And act my grief;¹ and 'tis for only him
 That I invoke this strange assistance to it,
 And on the point invoke himself to do it;
 For none but Tully Tully's praise can tell,
 And no man act a grief, or act so well.

He's gone, and with him what a world are dead,
 Friends, every one, and what a blank instead;
 Take him for all in all, he was a man
 Not to be match'd, and no age ever can.
 No more young Hamlet, though but scant of breath,
 Shall cry "Revenge!" for his dear father's death.
 Poor Romeo never more shall tears beget
 For Juliet's love and cruel Capulet:
 Harry shall not be seen as king or prince,
 They died with thee, dear Dick [and not long since]
 Not to revive again. Jeronimo
 Shall cease to mourn his son Horatio:
 They cannot call thee from thy naked bed
 By horrid outcry; and Antonio's dead.
 Edward shall lack a representative;
 And Crookback, as befits, shall cease to live.
 Tyrant Macbeth, with unwash'd, bloody hand,
 We vainly now may hope to understand.
 Brutus and Marcius henceforth must be dumb,
 For ne'er thy like upon the stage shall come,
 To charm the faculty of ears and eyes,
 Unless we could command the dead to rise.
 Vindex is gone, and what a loss was he!
 Frankford, Brachiano, and Malevole.
 Heart-broke Philaster, and Amintas too,
 Are lost for ever; with the red-hair'd Jew,
 Which sought the bankrupt merchant's pound of flesh,
 By woman-lawyer caught in his own mesh.
 What a wide world was in that little space,
 Thyself a world—the Globe thy fittest place!
 Thy stature small, but every thought and mood
 Might thoroughly from thy face be understood;

¹ Another proof, if it were needed, that Burbage both painted and acted; and may, *possibly*, have been the painter of the picture, disfigured by the engraver of the head in the folio 1623.

And his whole action he could change with ease
 From ancient Lear to youthful Pericles.
 But let me not forget one chiefest part;
 Wherein, beyond the rest, he mov'd the heart;
 The griev'd Moor, made jealous by a slave,
 Who sent his wife to fill a timeless grave,
 Then slew himself upon the bloody bed.
 All these and many more are with him dead.

Hereafter must our Poets cease to write.
 Since thou art gone, dear Dick, a tragic night
 Will wrap our black-hung stage: he made a Poet,
 And those who yet remain full surely know it;
 For, having Burbage to give forth each line,
 It fill'd their brain with fury more divine.
 Oft have I seen him leap into the grave,
 Suiting the person, which he seem'd to have,
 Of a mad lover, with so true an eye,
 That there I would have sworn he meant to die.
 Oft have I seen him play his part in jest,
 So lively, that spectators and the rest
 Of his sad crew, whilst he but seem'd to bleed,
 Amazed thought even then he died indeed.
 O ! let me not be check'd, and I shall swear,
 Even yet, it is a false report I hear,
 And think that he who did so truly feign,
 Is still but dead in jest, to live again.
 But now his part he acts, not plays, 'tis known:
 Others' he plays, but acted hath his own.

England's great Roscius ! for what Roscius
 Was unto Rome, that Burbadge was to us !
 How did his speech become him, and his pace
 Suit with his speech, and every action grace
 Them both alike, whilst not a word did fall
 Without just weight to ballast it withal.
 Hadst thou but spoke to Death, and us'd the power
 Of thy enchanting tongue, at that first hour
 Of his assault, he had let fall his dart,
 And quite been charm'd with thy all-charming art :
 This Death well knew, and, to prevent this wrong,
 He first made seizure on thy wondrous tongue ;
 Then on the rest : 'twas easy ; by degrees
 The slender ivy twines the hughest trees.

Poets, whose glory whilom 'twas to hear
 Your lines go well express'd, henceforth forbear,
 And write no more; or if you do, let't be
 In comic scenes, since tragic parts, you see,
 Die all with him: nay, rather shut your eyes,
 And henceforth write nought else but tragedies,
 Or dirges and sad elegies, or those
 Mournful laments that not accord with prose.
 Blur all your leaves with blots, that all you've writ
 May be but one sad black; and upon it
 Draw marble lines that may outlast the sun,
 And stand like trophies when the world is done.
 Turn all your ink to blood, your pens to spears,
 To pierce and wound the hearers' hearts and ears:
 Enrag'd, write stabbing lines, that every word
 May be as apt for murder as a sword,
 That no man may survive, after this fact
 Of ruthless Death, either to hear or act.

And you, his sad companions, to whom Lent
 Becomes more lenten by this accident,
 Henceforth your waving flag no more hang out.
 Play now no more at all: when round about
 We look, and miss the Atlas of your sphere,
 What comfort have we, think you, to be there?
 And how can you delight in playing, when
 Such mourning so affecteth other men?
 Or if you will still put it out, let it wear
 No more bright colours, but Death's livery there.
 Hang all your house with black, the ewe it bears
 With icicles of ever-melting tears;
 And if you ever chance to play again,
 May nought but tragedies afflict the scene!

And now, dear Earth, that must enshrine that dust,
 By heaven now committed to thy trust,
 Keep it as precious as the richest mine
 That lies entomb'd in that rich womb of thine,
 That after times may know that much lov'd mould
 From other dust, and cherish it as gold:
 On it be laid some soft but lasting stone,
 With this short epitaph endors'd thereon,
 That every eye may read, and reading, weep—
 'TIS ENGLAND'S ROSCIUS, BURBAGE, THAT I KEEP.'

The allusion to Atlas in the preceding elegy was probably occasioned by the fact, stated by Steevens, that the sign of the Globe Theatre was Atlas, not Hercules, supporting a sphere ; and we learn from it also another particular connected with the old playhouse, viz., that there was a yew-tree near it, perhaps against it, which the writer wished to be hung 'with icicles of ever-melting tears'; unless we suppose 'ewe' to be a clerical error for *hue*, and that he meant the black hue of the theatre to be rendered still more dismal by the frozen tears of the company : the passage is not very intelligible either way, and it is certainly not of much consequence how it is to be taken. The author of the subsequent MS. lines, of a very opposite character, though written on the same occasion, has taken care to be easily understood : his object was to censure and satirize the inhabitants of London for their unreasonable grief on the loss of an actor ; but what he says serves to show the general impression of sorrow which the death of Burbage had produced. He contrasts the public grief for the death of a player with the comparative indifference with which the news of the demise of the Queen of James I. had been received ; and it will be observed that the two lines at the commencement are copied from the opening of the first part of *Henry VI.*

De Burbagio et Regina.

Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night !

Comets importing change shoot through the sky :

Scourge the foul fates that thus afflict our sight !

Burbage, the player, has vouchsafed to die !

Therefore, in London is not one eye dry :

The deaths of men who act our Queens and Kings,

Are now more mourn'd than are the real things.

The Queen is dead ! to him now what are Queens ?

Queens of the theatre are much more worth,

Drawn to the playhouse by the bawdy scenes,

To revel in the foulness they call mirth.

Dick Burbage was their mortal god on earth :

When he expires, lo ! all lament the man ;

But where's the grief should follow good Queen Anne ?

JOHN HEMINGE.

To what class of actors Heminge¹ belonged we are without information, beyond the statement of Malone, that 'in some tract', of which he had forgotten to preserve the title, he was said to have been the original performer of Falstaff. Malone does not tell us that he met with this assertion in a publication of, or near, the time of Shakespeare; and it may deserve as little credit as the assertion of Roberts, the actor, in his answer to Pope in 1729, that Heminge was a tragedian, and that, in conjunction with Condell, he also followed the business of printing.³ If this were true, it is singular that no production of their press has reached us: Roberts does not adduce a particle of evidence on the point, traditional or otherwise, and it is not impossible that he blunderingly set down Heminge and Condell as the printers, instead of the editors of the folio of Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*, in 1623: that work purports to have been printed, as most of our readers are aware, 'by Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount', although it is not at all unlikely that they received assistance, in so large an undertaking, from other persons engaged in the same branch of business. There is no doubt that several of our early actors followed also other occupations: such has been the case down to our own day; and it seems much more likely that Heminge was by trade a grocer: so he terms himself in his will, having been free of that company.

We have no knowledge of his connection with theatrical affairs anterior to 1596, when he was one of the eight actors who presented a petition to the Privy Council, praying that they might not be prevented from repairing and enlarging the Blackfriars Theatre. The

¹ The name of Heminge is spelt in old documents in a variety of ways—Hemmings, Hemminge, Hemings, Hemynge, Hemming, Heming, and as we have given it. It is Heminge in his will, and at the end of the address to the folio *Shakespeare* of 1623, although printed Hemmings in the prefixed list of the 'principal actors' in the plays.

² *Shakespeare by Boswell*, vol. iii, p. 187.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 186.

name of Heminge comes third, following those of Pope and Burbage, and preceding those of Phillips, Shakespeare, Kemp, Sly, and Tooley: this position would lead us to conclude that he was at that time both of rank and standing in the profession. As to his age, Ben Jonson called him 'old Mr. Heminge' in his *Masque of Christmas*, presented in 1616,¹ in Ben Jonson was himself forty-two, so that we can hardly reckon Heminge less, at that date, than sixty; which would carry back his birth to 1556, and make him eight years older than Shakespeare. Our persuasion is, that Heminge was an actor before Shakespeare joined a theatrical company; but, as we have already remarked, we find no trace of him at by any means so early a date in any existing theatrical record.

The name of Heminge was not at all uncommon in Warwickshire; and Malone found that two persons bearing it, John and Richard, were settled at Shottery, near Stratford-upon-Avon, early in the reign of Elizabeth: John Heminge had a daughter baptized at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1567; and Richard Heminge had a son christened John in the same church, on 7th March 1570. It is hardly possible, for a reason hereafter apparent, that this John Heminge should have been our actor, and we are inclined to carry back his birth to a period beyond the year 1558, the earliest date in the Stratford Registers. The circumstance that Heminges were domiciled so near Stratford-upon-Avon would have more weight with us, if the name had not been frequent in most parts of the kingdom, and the subject of the present memoir may, after all, have been born in London, and apprenticed to a grocer. We know not that any allusion was intended—probably not; but Ralph, the stage-struck hero of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, first printed in 1613, was a grocer's apprentice. Heminge may have evinced the like early propensity, may have taken to the stage, and may subsequently have

¹ Richard Burbage is also there mentioned only as 'Master Burbage', and there is no doubt that he was considerably junior to Heminge: the passage runs thus—'Master Burbadge has been about and about with me, and so has old master Heminge too; they have need of him.' They are talking of the boy who was to play Cupid.—*Gifford's Ben Jonson*, vii, 277.

carried on his business, and at the same time exercised himself in his quality. If he had not been engaged as a grocer late in life, there seems no sufficient reason for so terming himself in his will.

In 1599 Heminge was, unquestionably, a prominent actor among the Lord Chamberlain's theatrical servants,¹ as appears by the following quotation from the office-book of the Treasurer of the Chamber to Queen Elizabeth : he and Pope were the persons then representing the company, and in their names the warrant was made out for the payment of money due to the whole body for performances before her Majesty. We give it as the earliest entry of the kind, yet discovered, in which the name of Heminge occurs :—

'Paid to John Heming and Thomas Pope, servauntes unto the Lo. Chamberlein, upon the Councell's warrant, dated at the Courte at Nonesuch, ij^o die Octobris, 1599, for three interludes, or playes, played before her Ma'tie on St. Stephen's daye at night, and Shrouetewsdays at night, last past, the some of xxli; and to them more by waye of her Ma'ts rewarde, the some of xli. In all xxxli.'

We are indebted to Mr. Cunningham's *Revels' Accounts* for this information ;¹ and he adds in a note, that he thinks Heminge was never at the head of the company, but acted throughout as treasurer. Such may be the fact : Heminge may have filled the office of treasurer to the association ; and, as far as we can judge, he seems to have been a most proper person for the duty ; but we meet with no evidence on the subject, beyond the circumstance that he was often one of those appointed to receive the money due from the Court. Various eminent performers were at times selected for the same purpose, and others were associated with them, as in the instance above quoted. Heminge alone appears to have been named in a similar warrant of 17th February 1599-1600, for three other 'interludes or playes': on 31st March 1601, John Heminge and Richard

¹ Chalmers (*Apology*, p. 435), tells us, that 'as early as November 1597, Heminge appears to have been the manager of the Lord Chamberlain's company', and he refers to the Registers of the Privy Council as his authority, but those records by no means establish any such point.

² *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, Introduction, p. xxxii.

Cowley were the recipients of the royal bounty on behalf of their fellows ; on 20th April 1603, rather less than a month before the date of the patent of James I, the entry of payment is, 'To John Hemynges and the rest of his companie, servaunts to the Lorde Chamberleyne.' He is mentioned alone, and called 'one of his Majesty's players'¹ (which the company became on the accession of James I) on December 3, 1603, when he was paid £30 for the performance of a play before the King at Wilton, the company having been commanded thither for the gratification of his Majesty. As Mr. Cunningham remarks, this is a very interesting memorandum, for it shows that the first play exhibited in England before James I was by Shakespeare's company, and in the house of the Earl of Pembroke.² It is deeply to be regretted that at this date it was not usual to set out the titles of the plays in the warrants of payment for them : at an earlier period they were not unfrequently given, and hence our only existing knowledge of several dramatic productions : at a later date also such was sometimes the practice ; but at this juncture, when James I had just ascended the throne of England, and Shakespeare occupied the throne of the drama, the names of plays seem to have been omitted. The earliest revival of the practice, as far as we now know, was on 21st June 1614, when Joseph Taylor, as one of the players of Princess Elizabeth, was paid £16 13s. 4d. for the performance of *Eastward Ho!* and *The Dutch Courtesan*. Another instance of the same kind occurred on the 11th June 1615, when Nathaniel Field (it is not stated in the document to what company he was attached) had a warrant for £10 for the representation of Ben Jonson's *Batholomew Fair*.³ These were two exceptions to the general rule, and a third, applicable to Heminge and to the company of the King's players, of much higher interest, belongs to

¹ In the patent granted by James I to his players on 17th May 1603, the name of Heminge stands fifth, after those of L. Fletcher, Shakespeare, Burbage, and Phillips, and before those of Condell, Sly, Armyn, and Cowley.

² *Revels' Accounts*, Introduction, p. xxxiv.

³ It is ascertained from the title-page of the comedy itself, that it was originally represented by the players of the Princess Elizabeth in 1614.

the 20th April and the 15th May 1618 : Heminge was then paid £20 for the representation before the King of *Twelfth Night* and *The Winter's Tale*, and £10 for *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*. The two first had been performed on Easter Monday and Tuesday preceding, and the last on the 3rd May. It will be understood that we speak here of warrants for the payment of the actors, and not of the accounts of the Master of the Revels, which sometimes furnish the titles of dramas, as well as minute and interesting matters connected with the expenditure for their performance at Court.¹

In March 1615, John Heminge was summoned before the Privy Council in his capacity as a leader and representative of the company, and his name was coupled in the instrument with that of Richard Burbage : they and other actors had disobeyed the injunction of the Lord Chamberlain by playing during Lent, and on this account they had incurred displeasure ; but it is likely that it was removed on submission to the Master of the Revels, for although there is a notice in the registers of the Privy Council that Heminge and Burbage, with six other players of different companies, were ordered to attend, no entry is made of their appearance at the time appointed, and possibly it was dispensed with, and the offence, such as it was, passed over.

Heminge buried his wife on the 2nd September 1619, as appears by the register of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, in which parish he seems

¹ See Mr. P. Cunningham's *Revels' Accounts*, pp. 203 and 210, where we hear, for the first time, of the representation at Court, in the twelve months between October 1604 and October 1605, of the following plays : *Othello*—*The Merry Wives of Windsor*—*Measure for Measure*—*The Comedy of Errors*—*How to learn of a Woman to Woo*—*All Fools*—*Love's Labour's Lost*—*Henry the Fifth*—*Every Man out of his Humour*—*Every Man in his Humour*—*The Merchant of Venice*—*The Spanish Ma* [?]. Between October 1611 and October 1612, the following dramas were acted at Court : *The Tempest*—*The Winter's Tale*—*A King and no King*—*Green's Tu Quoque*—*The Almanack*—*The Twin's Tragedy*—*Cupid's Revenge*—*The Silver Age*—*The Nobleman*—*Hymen's Holiday*—*The Maid's Tragedy*. Nothing can well be more valuable than this information, and Mr. Cunningham was the first to bring it to light. It is deeply to be lamented that similar documents, applicable to intervening years, do not seem to have been preserved in the depository from which these were rescued.

always to have resided while in London, a circumstance for which we may easily account, if we suppose that he carried on the trade of a grocer there. Malone remarks, that it was 'sufficiently commodious for his performances at the Globe Theatre, to which, by crossing the Thames, he would reach in a short time'.¹ This is perhaps true, but still it was unusual for actors to live so far off, unless they had other business which called them from the immediate neighbourhood of the playhouses with which they were connected; and this consideration gives greater weight to the notion, that Heminge was a grocer as well as an actor. He had been married at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, as long before as 10th March 1587-8, so that unless he had been only about seventeen years old at the time, he was not the John Heminge who was baptized at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1570. The name of his wife was Rebecca Knell, and Chalmers conjectures that she was 'the widow of William Knell',² the very distinguished comic performer celebrated by Thomas Heywood.³ In the first place, we are not sure that Knell's name was William, which is necessary to the supposition of Chalmers; and in the next we are without proof that Knell was ever married.

During the two-and-thirty years they were living together in the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, the wife of John Heminge produced him a numerous family: they had thirteen children; and supposing such of them as died to have been buried where they were born, ten of them survived their parents. The eldest, a daughter, named Ales or Alice, was baptized on 1st November 1590. Four other daughters followed, viz.:—Mary, baptized on the 26th May, and buried on the 9th August 1592; Judith, baptized on the 29th August 1593; Thomasine, baptized on the 15th January 1594-5; and Jone, baptized on the 2nd May 1596. These five daughters in succession, were followed by as many sons in succession, viz.:—John, baptized on the 2nd April, and buried on the 17th June 1598; another John, baptized on the 12th August 1599; Bevis (spelt Beavis

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 187.

² *Apology for the Believers*, p. 436.

³ *Apology for Actors*, p. 43, Shakesp. Soc. reprint.

in the register), baptized on the 24th May 1601: William, baptized on the 3rd October 1602; and George, baptized on the 12th February 1603-4. Three more daughters came after the five sons, viz.:—Rebecca, baptized on the 4th February 1604-5; Elizabeth, baptized on the 6th March 1607-8; and Mary, baptized on the 21st June, and buried on the 23rd July 1611. In his will Heminge also mentions a daughter Margaret, but no such name occurs in the registers of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, and we may conjecture that she was born and christened in the country: neither does it appear that all the burials of his children are included in the same registers; and as William Heminge was left sole executor of his father's will, and other sons are not noticed, we may infer, perhaps, that John, Bevis, and George had died, and were interred out of their father's parish. Malone mentions a daughter Beatrice, but we have looked in vain for her name in the registers of St. Mary, and we have found no notice of her elsewhere.¹

The eldest daughter, Ales or Alice, was married at her parish church on the 11th February 1611-12, to John Atkins; and they were living with their father at the time he made his will, and they had a son named Richard. Three other daughters were also married: Rebecca to Captain William Smith, Margaret to Mr. Thomas Shepherd, and a daughter, name not specified, to a person of the name of Merefield; but, as her husband is not spoken of, perhaps she was a widow at the death of her father: his daughter Elizabeth, who is also separately noticed in the will, was probably still single.

Heminge continued to occupy his house, and perhaps to carry on his business in Aldermanbury after the death of his wife, but it seems likely that besides his interest in the Globe Theatre, he had other property, and perhaps relatives, in Southwark: he left a legacy to the Rev. John Rice, the clergyman of that parish, 'for a remembrance of my love unto him'; and on 1st June 1600, a William Heminge was married to Margaret Evans: on 6th July 1609, Ellinor Heminge was married to Thomas Pester; and as late as 1625, Wil-

¹ Both Chalmers and Malone omit to mention the burial of 'Swynnerton Heminge, an infant', on 8th June 1613: he was the last child.

liam Tawyer, who is expressly called in the register 'Mr. Heminge's man', was buried at St. Saviour's. There were also several Heminges in Shoreditch, and one of them, Samuel, occupied a house in Holywell Street, which seems to have been inhabited very much by actors, and persons in various ways connected with our oldest theatres.

It can hardly be disputed that John Heminge was at the head of the King's Players in 1619; and when they obtained their new Patent in March of that year his name stands first, even before that of Burbage (who was in fact just dead), and it is followed by those of Condell, Lowen, Tooley, Underwood, Field, and five others.¹ He seems, together with Condell, to have relinquished the active duties of the profession about the time when they executed their great work of collecting and printing the dramatic productions of their illustrious contemporary. Their names, it is true, occur in a Patent conceded two years after the publication of the first folio, but they apparently quitted the stage as performers (though not as managers), when we may suppose that they began to employ themselves in securing the manuscripts of Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, in arranging them for publication, and in correcting the press—if it ever were corrected.

Hence arises the question at what date they commenced this great and most valuable enterprise, which has perhaps saved from oblivion about half of what was ever written by our great dramatist: but for Heminge and Condell, dramas like *The Winter's Tale*, *Macbeth*, *Cymbeline*, and all the others that were printed for the first time in the folio of 1623, might have entirely perished: we are now sure that they did not include all the writings of a dramatic character that came from his pen: his *Edward the Third* was quite forgotten; and we cannot help fearing that many prologues and epilogues, and additions to his own, and even to the works of others, have been omitted. We know that it was the custom with Ben Jonson, Dekker, Webster, Marston, Heywood, and other contemporaries of Shakespeare, to employ their talents in this

¹ This Patent, with its date, is quoted at length in *The History of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage*.

way, at other theatres, when required by the occasion; and as Shakespeare was for so many years the chief writer for the Lord Chamberlain's players (after the accession of James I, called the King's servants), we are apprehensive that he contributed much, of an accidental and temporary kind, which has not come down to us, and will never be recovered. This is a loss, therefore, we shall always have to deplore; but our obligations to the piety of Heminge and Condell towards their 'friend and fellow', in what they did in the collection and publication of the *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* of Shakespeare, cannot be too often nor too deeply acknowledged.

It is one of the problems in the life of our great dramatist that will never be solved, how it happened that he, who could write such plays, could be so indifferent as to their appearance in print. Many of those that were published in 4to. in his lifetime were, as Heminge and Condell tell 'the great variety of readers' in their preliminary address, 'maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealths of injurious impostors'; and Shakespeare seems to have done nothing to right himself in the eyes of the world in this respect. He probably superintended the passage through the press of his two poems, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*, but it is our conviction that, as far as regards any of his plays, he never corrected a line of them after they were once in type.

What assistance Heminge and Condell obtained in the course of their undertaking must be matter of mere speculation: that they received some aid is more than probable; and, whether it was or was not given by Ben Jonson, as has been supposed, it is quite clear to our judgment that the introductory epistle, containing the subsequent brief and admirable notice of Shakespeare and his writings, could not have been penned by them—'Who, as he was a happy imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it: his mind and hand went together; and what he thought he uttered with that easiness, that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers'. This passage could hardly have been written by Ben Jonson, consistently with the anecdote told of him in connexion with the absence of erasures in Shakespeare's original manuscripts.

The above quotation is more important than it may appear at first sight, and than it seems to have struck others that it is; inasmuch as we may infer from it that Heminge and Condell sometimes employed for their work not merely the copies made for the use of the actors by the mechanical writers for the theatre, but those manuscripts which had come in so fair a state from the hand of Shakespeare himself. To what extent they were able to do so, after the fire at the Globe, we cannot determine, but this consideration gives to the volume they published an additional claim to our reverence and admiration on the ground of its authenticity.

At the date when the first folio appeared, consisting of nearly 1000 pages, the process of printing (even supposing the MS., as there is some reason to believe, to have been placed in the hands of more than one printer), must have occupied a considerable period—scarcely less than a year. There is little doubt that the title-page and all the preliminary matter were printed last; and there, as well as at the close of the volume, we find the date of 1623: nevertheless there is a copy of the first folio in existence with the date of 1622, so that, although the publication was afterwards postponed, and the date changed to 1623, we may be pretty sure that the book was ready by the end of 1622.¹ We suppose the process of printing to have been commenced at the close of 1621, and we cannot allow less than a previous year to the editors for the collection of their materials; it may, indeed, have occupied a much longer time, and they may not only have contemplated, but begun their undertaking soon after the death of Shakespeare. The book *does credit to the age*, even as a specimen of typography: it is, *on the whole*, remark-

¹ The entry in the registers of the Stationers' Company is dated 8th November 1623, but it must have been made just before the volume was issued to the public, and some time after the printing of it had been finished, unless we suppose the date of the one copy in 1622 to have been a mere error of the press: such may certainly have been the case. The author of the present volume has never had an opportunity of seeing the copy of the folio with the date of 1622, but is informed by a gentleman who has seen it, that the date is on the title-page and at the end of the work; so that, if 1622 be an error, it was committed by the printer twice over. We know not who has the volume.

ably accurate, and so desirous were the editors and printers of correctness, that they introduced changes for the better, even while the sheets were in progress through the press.

The connexion of Heminge and Condell with this great work was certainly the most important incident of their lives, and posterity can never be too grateful to them for having undertaken it.

Although we suppose them to have retired from the active duties of the profession about 1622, it is certain that to the last day of their lives they were interested in the receipts at the Globe and Blackfriars Theatres: we take it, that they continued to superintend the getting up and performance of plays for some years after they ceased to appear publicly in them: on this account we still read their names in the patent granted by Charles I to his 'well beloved servants' when he came to the throne.

Whether Heminge remained in Aldermanbury while the virulence of the plague of 1625 was unabated we have not the same means of knowing as exist in the case of Condell, who died about three years before his co-editor of the collection of Seakespeare's dramatic productions. Heminge was appointed by Condell, in December 1627, one of the overseers of his will, with a legacy of 5*l*.

We hear of Heminge again in connexion with the King's players on the 6th May 1629, when he received the usual biennial donation of four yards of 'bastard scarlet' for a cloak, and a quarter of a yard of crimson velvet for a cape: in the order of making this allowance of 'royal livery' to the actors, as servants of the crown, the name of John Heminge stands first, followed by those of Lowen, Taylor, and eleven others. In 1625, the company consisted of thirteen performers, including Heminge, but in 1629 there were thirteen without him. He may have been still reckoned an actor in 1625, and he may have ceased to be so in 1629.

Nevertheless, he continued as its leader to represent the company at Court to within less than a month of his death. The plague again made its fatal appearance early in the year 1630, and kept the theatres closed for six months prior to the 20th September, when an order was issued under privy seal for bestowing upon the King's

players 100*l.*, 'in regard of their great hindrance of late received', and it was directed that the money should be conveyed through the hands of John Heminge.

No doubt he received and distributed this royal bounty, but he died about twenty days after the date of it: he made his will on the 9th; it was proved on the 11th, and he was buried on the 12th October 1630, in the churchyard of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, the register recording his name as 'John Heminge, player'.

The whole proceeding was extremely hasty, and as the will was never finally executed by the testator, there is abundant reason for concluding, with Malone, that he died of the plague,¹ which then raged, and, as we have just seen, had prevented the company from performing at Hampton Court. When Malone asserts, however, that Heminge 'died on the 10th of October, he had no authority for the statement beyond the fact that the will was proved on the 11th October by William Heminge, *filius dicti defuncti*'; and it seems unlikely that the son should have gone to Doctors' Commons for the purpose on the very day after the decease of his father. 'To us it appears more probable that the death took place very suddenly on the day the will bears date, and that this was the reason why the signature of the testator was not affixed to it. Chalmers arrived at the conclusion that Heminge died 'at the age of seventy-five', and Malone says that he was 'in, as I conjecture, the seventy-fourth or seventy-fifth year of his age'; but the truth is that, until we are able to settle when he was born, we must remain in ignorance of the exact period of life he had reached in 1630. If his birth be placed, as we have supposed, in 1556, he was in his seventy-fourth year.

Boswell found among Malone's papers the copy of a confirmation of arms to 'John, son and heir of George Hemings of Droitwich, in the county of Worcester, Gent',² granted by Sir William Segar in 1628: therein it is said that John Hemings, of London, Gent., had 'of long time been servant to Queen Elizabeth'; but if this be our John Heminge, he was never, as far as existing evidence goes, called

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 190.

² Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 188.

servant to the Queen, but to the Lord Chamberlain, in the reign of Elizabeth. This, however, may have been an error on the part of the herald, or Heminge may at one time have been a member of one of the Queen's two companies; but, as there are no other means of identification, we must remain in doubt whether the instrument apply to John Heminge, the actor, or to some other person of the same names.¹ It does not appear when the original grant of arms had been made.²

In his will Heminge left his son William sole executor (without naming his other sons, who were perhaps dead), 'Mr. Burbage and Mr. Rice to be the overseers' of it. William Heminge, we have seen, was born in 1602: according to Anthony Wood,² he was educated at Westminster school, and from thence elected to Christchurch, Oxford, in 1621; but he did not matriculate until 1624, and took his degree of M.A. in 1628. He made three attempts in dramatic poetry, but probably not until after the death of his father: the earliest in point of date, *The Coursing of a Hare, or the Mad Cap*, was licensed for the Fortune Theatre in March 1632-3, but never printed, and is said to have been one of the plays formerly in the possession of Warburton, and destroyed by his servant. Two other dramas by him, *The Fatal Contract* and *The Jew's Tragedy*, were published: the first went through two editions in 1653 and 1661, and the last was printed in 1562. The Oxford Antiquary also informs us that William Heminge 'left behind him greater monuments of his worth and ability' than these dramas. The books and papers mentioned in his father's will must have devolved into his hands as executor, and they would be invaluable not merely as relates to the history of the stage during the long period Heminge was connected with it, but especially as regards Shakespeare and his dramatic productions. The old manager, or treasurer, kept books, as he states in his will, which showed the 'good yearly profit' he derived from his shares in the Globe and

¹ According to the register of St. Saviour's, Southwark, 'Walter Hemings, a Worcestershire man', was buried on 16th March 1625. It is not said that he came from Droitwich.

² *Athen. Oxon.*, edit. Bliss, iii, 277.

Blackfriars Theatres, and if these could be recovered they would certainly supply us with much the same information regarding Shakespeare's transactions with the King's players, as Henslowe furnished in his *Diary* respecting the numerous dramatists who wrote for the companies in whose receipts he was interested. There seems no reason why William Heminge should destroy them, and they may still lurk in some dark and unexplored depository. It is more probable, however, that they were burned in the great fire.

The following is a copy of John Heminge's will:—

In the name of God, amen, the 9th day of October 1630, and in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord, Charles, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc. I, John Heminge, citizen and grocer of London, being of perfect mind and memory, thanks be therefore given unto Almighty God, yet well knowing and considering the frailty and uncertainty of man's life, do therefore make, ordain, and declare this my last will and testament in manner and form following:—

First, and principally, I give and bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God, my Maker and Creator, hoping and assuredly believing, through the only merits, death and passion, of Jesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeemer, to obtain remission and pardon of all my sins, and to enjoy eternal happiness in the kingdom of heaven; and my body I commit to the earth, to be buried in Christian manner in the parish church of Mary Aldermanbury, in London, as near unto my loving wife, Rebecca Heminge, who lieth interred, and under the same stone which lieth in part over her, there, if the same conveniently may be: wherein I do desire my executor hereinafter named carefully to see my will performed, and that my funeral may be in decent and comely manner performed in the evening, without any vain pomp, or cost therein to be bestowed.

Item, my will is that all such debts as I shall happen to owe at the time of my decease to any person or persons (being truly and properly mine own debts), shall be well and truly satisfied and paid as soon after my decease as the same conveniently may be; and to that intent and purpose my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that all my leases, goods, chattels, plate, and household stuff whatsoever, which I leave or shall be possessed of at the time of my decease, shall immediately after my decease be sold to the most and best benefit and advantage that the same or any of them may or can, and that the moneys thereby raised shall go and be employed towards the payment and discharge of my said debts, as soon as the same may be converted into moneys and be received, without fraud or covin; and that if the same leases, goods, and chattels, shall not raise so much money as shall be sufficient to pay my debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby will and appoint, that the moiety, or one half of the

yearly benefit and profit of the several parts, which I have by lease in the several playhouses of the Globe and Blackfriars,¹ for and during such time and term as I have therein, be from time to time received and taken up by my executor, hereinafter named, and by him from time to time faithfully employed towards the payment of such of my said own proper debts which shall remain unsatisfied, and that proportionably to every person and persons to whom I shall then remain indebted, until by the said moiety, or one half of the said yearly benefit and profit of the said parts, they shall be satisfied and paid without fraud or covin. And if the said moiety, or one half of the yearly benefit of my said parts in the said playhouses, shall not in some convenient time raise sufficient moneys to pay my said own debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that the other moiety or half part of the benefit and profit of my said parts in the said playhouses be also received and taken up by my said executor herein after named, and faithfully from time to time employed and paid towards the speedier satisfaction and payment of my said debts. And then, after my said debts shall be so satisfied and paid, then I limit and appoint the said benefit and profit arising by my said parts in the said playhouses, and the employment of the same, to be received and employed towards the payment of the legacies by me hereinafter given and bequeathed, and to the raising of portions for such of my said children as at the time of my decease shall have received from me no advancement. And I do hereby desire my executor herein after named to see this my will and meaning herein to be well and truly performed, according to the trust and confidence by me in him reposed.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath, unto my daughter, Rebecca Smith, now wife of Captain William Smith, my best suit of linen, wrought with cutwork, which was her mother's ; and to my son Smith, her husband, his wife's picture, set up in a frame in my house.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter, Margaret Sheppard, wife of Mr. Thomas Sheppard, my red cushions embroidered with bugle, which were her mother's ; and to my said son Sheppard, his wife's picture, which is also set up in a frame in my house.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth, my green cushions, which were her mother's.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Merefield, my cloth-of-silver striped cushions, which were her mother's.

Item, I give and bequeath unto so many of my daughter Merefield's and my

¹ See p. cccx of Collier's *Life of Shakespeare*, 1844, where it appears that Heminge was the owner of two shares of the profits of the Blackfriars Theatre about the year 1608 : we may presume perhaps that he continued equally interested to the end of his life.

daughter Sheppard's children as shall be living at the time of my decease, fifty shillings a piece.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my grandchild, Richard Atkins, the sum of five pounds of lawful money of England.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my son-in-law, John Atkins, and his now wife, if they shall be living with me at the time of my decease, forty shillings, to make them two rings, in remembrance of me.

Item, I give and bequeath unto every of my fellows and sharers, his majesty's servants, which shall be living at the time of my decease, the sum of ten shillings a piece, to make them rings for remembrance of me.

Item, I give and bequeath unto John Rice, clerk, of St. Saviour's, in Southwark (if he shall be living at the time of my decease) the sum of twenty shillings of lawful English money, for a remembrance of my love to him.

Item, I give and bequeath unto the poor of the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, where I long lived, and whither I have bequeathed my body for burial, the sum of forty shillings of lawful English money, to be distributed by the churchwardens of the same parish where most need shall be.

Item, my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint that the several legacies and sums of money by me hereinbefore bequeathed to be paid in money, be raised and taken out of the yearly profit and benefit which shall arise or be made by my several parts and shares in the several playhouses called the Globe and Blackfriars, after my said debts shall be paid, with as much speed as the same conveniently may be: and I do hereby will, require, and charge my executor, herein after named, especially to take care that my debts first, and then those legacies, be well and truly paid and discharged, as soon as the same may be so raised by the sale of my goods and by the yearly profits of my parts and shares; and that my estate may be so ordered to the best profit and advantage for the better payment of my debts and discharge of my legacies before mentioned, with as much speed as the same conveniently may be, according as I have hereinbefore in this will directed and appointed the same to be, without any lessening, diminishing, or undervaluing thereof, contrary to my true intent and meaning herein declared. And for the better performance thereof, my will, mind, and desire is, that my said parts in the said playhouses should be employed in playing, the better to raise profit thereby, as formerly the same have been, and have yielded good yearly profit, as by my books will in that behalf appear. And my will and mind is, and I do hereby ordain, limit, and appoint, that after my debts, funerals, and legacies shall be paid and satisfied out of my estate, that then the residue and remainder of my goods, chattels, and credits whatsoever shall be equally parted and divided to and amongst such of my children as at the time of my decease shall be unmarried or unadvanced, and shall not have received from me any portion in marriage or otherwise, further than only for their education and breeding, part and part like: and I do hereby ordain and make my son William Heminge, to be

the executor of this my last will and testament, requiring him to see the same performed in and by all things, according to my true meaning herein declared. And I do desire and appoint my loving friends, Mr. Burbage and Mr. Rice, to be the overseers of this my last will and testament, praying them to be aiding and assisting to my said executor with their best advice and council in the execution thereof: and I do hereby utterly revoke all former wills by me heretofore made, and do pronounce, publish, and declare this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal the day and year first above written.

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum apud London coram venerabili viro, magistro Willielmo James, legum doctore, Surrogato, undecimo die mensis Octobris, Anno Domini 1630, juramento Willielmi Heminge, filii naturalis et legitimi dicti defuncti, et executoris, cui, etc., de bene, etc., jurat.

Malone states, 'From an entry in the council-books at Whitehall I find that John Heminge was one of the principal *proprietors* of the Globe playhouse before the death of Queen Elizabeth.'¹ We regret that he did not give the particular reference, because we have more than once searched the volumes of the Privy Council Registers for the purpose, and have not been able to find any such information: nevertheless, the fact may be so, and Malone was not careless in his statements; but Heminge at his death was certainly only one of the leaseholders both of the Globe and the Blackfriars Theatres. He tells us so in his will: 'and I do hereby will and appoint, that the moiety, or one half, of the yearly benefit and profit of the several parts *which I have by lease* in the several playhouses of the Globe and Blackfriars, *for and during such time and term as I have therein*, be', etc. It is clear, therefore, that in 1630 the freehold was in some other persons; and we know, by evidence adduced in our Memoir of Richard Burbage, that his son William and his brother Cuthbert were owners of the freehold of the Blackfriars. The fact would seem to be, that all the sharers in the Blackfriars were leaseholders for a certain term of years, as in the case of the Fortune, when it was built and rebuilt by Edward Alleyn; and such may have been, and probably was, the condition of John Heminge in respect to the Globe: he was a leaseholder, the freehold being in other persons, whose names have been ascertained—namely the Burbages. It

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 190.

afterwards became the property of Sir Matthew Brand, but from whom he purchased it is not known.

The 'Mr. Burbage', appointed one of the overseers of Heminge's will, must have been, as Malone states, Cuthbert, the brother of Richard; for William Burbage, the son of Richard, was only fourteen years old in 1630. 'Mr. Rice', the other overseer, was most likely the Rev. John Rice, of St. Saviour's, Southwark, previously mentioned in the will: nevertheless, an actor in the company to which Heminge belonged was named John Rice, and he is one of those enumerated in the folio of 1623, as a 'principal actor' in Shakespeare's plays: his name stands last in the list, and very little is known of him, but we shall have occasion to speak of him in due course.

AUGUSTINE PHILLIPS.

THERE is little doubt that Augustine Phillips was chiefly a comic performer in the later part of his career, whatever he may have been at its commencement.¹ We first hear of him, as of several others, prior to the year 1588, when he was the representative of Sardanapalus in Tarlton's plat of 'the second part of *The Seven Deadly Sins*'. We have no clue to his age at that date, but he was most likely by no means an elderly man, although he survived only sixteen or seventeen years afterwards: at his death his mother (as appears by his will) was living, and her name was then Agnes Bennett, which proves that she must have been married a second time; unless by the words 'my loving mother' we are to understand his wife's mother. He calls William and James Webb his 'brothers', although they were most

¹ He may possibly have been descended from the 'Robert Phillippe, momer', who was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on the 9th April 1559. 'Momer' meant *mummer*, a not very unusual designation for a player at that date. This is the earliest time the name of Phillippe, or Philippes, has been mentioned in connection with our old stage.

likely only brothers-in-law, from having married two of his sisters, or from his having married their sister: the former is the more probable, because there is some reason to believe that Augustine Phillips married a sister of Edward Alleyn, of whom, however, we hear on no other authority. Philip Henslowe, writing to Alleyn on the 28th September 1593, speaks of Alleyn's 'sister Phillips and her husband', as of a person engaged in the same line of life—'Your sister Phillipps and her husband hath leced (*i.e.*, *lost*, by the plague then prevailing) two or three out of ther howsse, yt there (*i.e.*, *yet they are*) in good health, and doth hartily comend them unto you.' It is not impossible that Henslowe alluded to the father of Augustine Phillips, as one of the persons in his family who had died of the plague, for in the Register of St. Saviour's, Southwark, we read the subsequent entry of a burial:—'1592, July 24. Augustine Phillipps.' The plague was raging in the summer of 1592, although Henslowe's letter to Alleyn bears date some time afterwards, and he might refer to other and subsequent domestic losses Augustine Phillips and his wife had sustained. The Register does not state whether the Augustine Phillips, who was buried in July 1592, were a man or a child, and it may have been the latter, and one of the early offspring of our actor and his wife. Her name was Anne, but when or where they were united is uncertain, as no marriage of persons with those names is to be found in the parish Registers we have had an opportunity of consulting. Those of St. Saviour's, Southwark show that they had a daughter, Magdalen, baptized in the autumn of 1594; and the clerk, or the clergyman, added to the entry, in Latin, the profession of the father:—'1594, September 29. Magdalen Phillipps, daughter of Awsten, *histrionis*.' When, less than two years afterwards, they had another daughter baptised at the same church, *histrionis* was translated in words it had been more the custom to use forty or fifty years earlier:—'1566, July 11. Rebecca Phillipps, daughter of Augustine, player of interludes.'

A few years afterwards the addition to the name was that more commonly employed:—'1601, November 29. Awstyn Phillipps, son of Awsten, a player.' This baptismal entry seems to render it

more probable that the Augustine Phillipps buried in 1592 was the father of the actor, who lost the son, born in 1601 and named after him in 1604, as we learn from the same Registers at St. Saviour's, where the memorandum stands thus :—'Buried 1604, July 1. Augustine Phillipps, a childe.' Besides Magdalen and Rebecca, Phillips and his wife had two other daughters, named (as appears by the will of the father) Anne and Elizabeth, but they were not christened at St. Saviour's, and elsewhere we meet with no mention of them. If they had any other son but Augustine, born in 1601 and buried in 1604, he probably did not live long, as no son is spoken of in Phillips's will. Neither Malone nor Chalmers take the slightest notice of the particulars we have above extracted from the Registers of St. Saviour's: there also we find recorded the marriage of Phillips's sister, Elizabeth, to Robert Gough, the player, in the spring of 1603, although the clerk was strangely ignorant of the surname of the bride, and therefore left it blank. It is, however, ascertained from other circumstances, as will be seen hereafter in the will, as well as in our memoir of Robert Gough.

Phillips seems, like some others of the same profession in his own day, to have been not merely an actor but a musician, supposing him to have performed upon the instruments mentioned in his will. He bequeathed to Samuel Gilburne, who had been his apprentice, his base viol, and to James Sands, who was not out of his time at the date of the will, his 'citterne, bandore, and lute'. It is not impossible that Phillips sometimes played in what we now call the orchestra of the association to which he belonged, and that he assisted in accompanying songs introduced into different dramas.

If we suppose him to be the author of a piece imputed to him, he had still greater versatility of talent, but we are inclined to think that it was written by somebody else, and called after his name on account of his popularity. We allude to the *Fig of the Slippers*, which was entered at Stationers' Hall, in 1595, as 'Phillips's *Fig of the Slippers*', and most likely printed under that title, though it has not come down to us either in that form or in manuscript. A jig seems to have been 'a ludicrous composition in rhyme, sung or said by a clown or comic

performer, and accompanied by dancing and playing upon a pipe and tabor', or sometimes other musical instruments.

Augustine Phillips was required on a very remarkable occasion to represent, and to speak on behalf of the whole company of which he was a member: it was on the 11th February 1600, when a play (probably not by Shakespeare) had been represented at the Globe Theatre, and when Elizabeth and some of her courtiers seem to have suspected that the performance had been intended to have reference to, and to aid the supposed plot of the unfortunate Earl of Essex upon the Queen's life. The council summoned the actors before them, and it appears that they put forward Phillips, or Phillipps, to represent them, and to show that there was no real ground of complaint. His deposition was taken by Lord Chief Justice Popham and Justices Anderson and Fenner, and in the State Paper Office is preserved the original document signed by Phillipps (so he there spelt his name) and by the judges, which entirely cleared the company of actors of all complicity in the transaction. We subjoin a copy of it, precisely as it stands in the original document:—

'The Exam. of Augustine Phillipps servant unto the L. Chamberlayne and one of his players, taken the xvij of Februarii 1600, upon his Othe. He sayeth, that on Fryday last was sen'nyght, or Thursday, Sir Charles Percye or Jostlyne Percye and the L. Montegle, with some three more, spake to some of the players in the presens of thys examt. to have the playe of the deposing and kyllynge Kyng Rychard the Second, to be played the Saterdag next, promysing to geve them xls. more than their ordynary to play yt: when thys Examt. and his fellowes were determyned to have played some other playe, holdyng that play of Kyng Rychard to be so old, and so long out of yous that they should have small, or no company at yt. But at theyre request this Examt. and his fellowes were content to play it the Saturday, and have theise xls. more then theire ordynary for yt, and so played yt accordyngly.

AUGUSTINE PHILLIPPS.

'Ex per—JO. POPHAM, EDW. ANDERSON,

'EDW. FENNER.'

How it happened that Phillips was chosen on this important occasion to represent the company nowhere appears; but however we might have wished for Shakespeare's signature and instrumentality in the affair, it was hardly to be expected that he who had so

much to do with authorship in the company, and so little to do with acting, would have been called upon on the occasion ; and we have little doubt that Phillips was with very good reason selected : probably he was by when the offer of 40s. additional had been made by Sir Charles and Jostlyne Percy to the company.

In the petition of the players of the Blackfriars to the Privy Council in 1596, in favour of continuing performances at that theatre, the name of Augustine Phillips comes fourth, after those of Pope, Burbage, and Heminge, and before those of Shakespeare, Kemp, Sly, and Tooley. In the patent granted by King James in May 1603, Phillips's name is also fourth, after those of Fletcher, Shakespeare, and Burbage, and before those of Heminge, Condell, Sly, Armin, and Cowley. The only contemporary we recollect to have spoken of Phillips is Thomas Heywood, who, writing in 1612, thus placed him in company with other comic performers whom he had known and seen:—'Gabriel, Singer, Pope, Phillips, Sly, all the right I can do them is but this, that, though they be dead, their deserts yet live in the remembrance of many.'¹ We know that Phillips sustained parts in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, *Every Man out of his Humour*, and *Sejanus*, acting in the first and last with Shakespeare, but what characters were assigned to him or others we have no means of ascertaining.

Phillips seems to have lived during his stage-career in Southwark, and the token-books at St. Saviour's often contain his name as a resident in various places. In 1593 and 1595 we find him in Horse-shoe Court, but in 1601 he had removed to what was then called 'the Close', and in 1602 he was in Bradshaw's Rents. In 1604 he had returned to Horse-shoe Court, and in 1605 his name had been written in the book by mistake; but, as he had removed, that of Buret was substituted as the person actually in possession of the house.

The fact is, that between 1604 and 1605 Phillips had removed his family to Mortlake in Surrey, and in his will, dated 4th May 1605, he speaks of 'my house and land in Mortlake, which I lately pur-

¹ Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612, 4to., Sig. E 2 b.

chased'. He lived to enjoy it a very short time; for as his will was proved by his widow and executrix on the 13th May, it is clear that he died between the 4th and 13th of that month: the probability is that he quitted Southwark on account of ill health, and on the 4th May he states that he was 'sick and weak of body'. We may conclude that he had lived on the best terms with his brethren of the stage, to several of whom, including Shakespeare (whose name stands first), Henry Condell, Christopher Beeston (whom Phillips calls his 'servant') Lawrence Fletcher, Robert Armin, Richard Cowley, Alexander Cooke, and Nicholas Tooley, he left legacies: nor did he forget the 'hired men', or hirelings of the company, who were not sharers, to whom he gave 5*l.*, to be equally divided among them. These, and other particulars, will be found in the will which we have subjoined to the present memoir.¹

He directed that all he died possessed of (with one exception), after the payment of his funeral expenses and debts, should be divided into three equal portions; one portion to go to his wife (who was left executrix provided she did not marry again, in which case she was to forfeit all claim under the will), another to his three eldest daughters, Magdalen, Rebecca, and Anne, and the third to be devoted to the payment of bequests, legacies,² etc. He designates his personal property 'goods, chattels, plate, household stuff, jewels, ready money, and debts', and does not state whether he was, or was not, owner of shares in any theatres; from which, as they were specified by several other actors in their wills, we may perhaps be authorised in inferring that he had disposed of his property of that kind before he quitted London. He left his 'lately purchased' house and land at Mortlake as the portion of his youngest daughter, Elizabeth, in lieu of any share of his general estate.

¹ Chalmers first published it in his *Apology*, p. 431.

² Among the legacies was 10*l.* to his nephews, Myles Borne and Phillips Borne, 'two sons of my sister, Margery Borne'. 'William Bird, *alias* Borne', is often mentioned as an actor in Henslowe's *Diary*, and he may have been the husband of Margery Borne. According to the registers of Mortlake Church, Myles Borne had a child buried there, 'not baptised', on 12th October 1623.

By his will he required that his body should be buried in the chancel of Mortlake church, which, we may believe, was accordingly done between the 4th May, when the will was dated, and the 13th May, when it was proved by the widow and executrix. . We have searched the registers of deaths in the parish, but in vain, as there is a hiatus in them between the years 1603 and 1613, during which period there exists no record of the interment of any persons. Neither is there any gravestone now in the church with Phillips's name upon it; but it is to be observed that the chancel has been recently altered, and only a small part of the original pavement appears to have been preserved.

The widow and executrix soon forfeited her right, under the will, by marrying again; and on 16th May 1607, John Heminge proved it, in virtue of the clause, that he, Burbage, Sly, and a person of the name of Timothy Whithorne (who had been appointed overseers), should become executors on the re-marriage of Anne Phillips.

The nature of the disorder of which Phillips died is nowhere stated; but there seems ground for supposing that his death was by no means sudden, although it occurred soon after the execution of his will: it was evidently prepared in some haste, as it was written on two separate sheets of paper, in different hand-writings, only one of the sheets having been signed by the testator. It was as follows:—

'In the name of God, Amen, the fourth daie of Maie, Anno Domini 1605, and in the yeres of the reigne of our sovringe Lorde James, by the grace of God Kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faithe, etc., that is to say of England, Fraunce, and Ireland the thirde, and of Scotlande the eighte and thirtith. I, Augustine Phillipps, of Mortlack, in the County of Surrey, Gent., beinge at this presente sicke and weak in body, but of good and perfecte mynde and remembrance, thanks be given unto Almighty God, do make, ordeyne, and dispose this my presente Testamente, and last Will, in manner and forme followinge, that is to say : first and principally I commende my soule into th' hands of Allmighty God, my Maker, Savior, and Redeemer, in whome and by the meritts of the second person, Jesus Christ, I truste and believe assuredly to be saved and to have cleire remission and forgiveness of my sinnes, and I comitt my body to be buried in the chauncell of the parishe church of Mortelack aforesaid : and after my body buried, and funerall charge paid, then I will that all

such debts and dueties as I owe to any person or persons, of righte or in conscience, shal be truely paide ; and that done, then I will that all and singular my goods, chattels, plate, household stuffe, jewells, reddey money, and debts, shal be divided by my executrix, and overseers of this my laste will and testament, into three equall and indifferente parts and portions, whereof one equal parte I geve and bequeathe to Ann Phillipps, my loveinge wife, to her owne proper use and behoufe : one other part thereof to and amongeste my three eldeste daughters, Maudlyne Phillipps, Rebecca Phillipps, and Anne Phillipps, equally amongste them to be devided, portion and portion like, and to be paide and deliverd unto them as they and every of them shall accomplish and come to their lawfull ages of twenty and one yeres, or at their daies of marriage, and every of them to be others heyre of their said parts and portions, yf any of them shall fortune to dye before their said several ages of twenty and one yeres or daies of marriage ; and th' other parte thereof I reserve to my selfe and to my executrix, to performe my legacies hereafter followinge :—

' Item, I geve and bequeathe to the poore of the parishe of Mortlack aforesaide, fyve pounds of lawfull money of England, to be distributed by the churchwardens of the same parishe within twelve monethes after my decease.

' Item, I geve and bequeathe to Agnes Bennett, my loveinge mother, during her naturall life, every yere yerely, the some of fyve pounds of lawfull money of England, to be paid her at the four usuall feasts or termes in the yere by my executrix, out of any parte and portion reserved by this my presente will.

' Item, I geve to my brothers, William Webb and James Webb, yf they shall be lyvinge at my decease, to eyther of them the some of tenne pounds a peece of lawfull money of England, to be paid unto them within three yeres after my decease.

' Item, I geve and bequeathe to my sister, Elizabeth Goughe, the some of tenne pounds of lawfull money of England, to be paid her within one yere after my decease.

' Item, I will and bequeathe unto Myles Borne and Phillipps Borne, two sonnes of my sister, Margery Borne, to eyther of them tenne pounds a peece of lawfull money of England, to be paid unto them when they shall accomlishe the full age of twenty and one yeres.

' Item, I geve and bequeathe unto Tymothy Whithorne, the sum of twenty pounds of lawfull money of Englande, to be paid unto him within one yere after my decease.

' Item, I geve and bequeathe unto and amongste the hyred men of the company which I am of, which shalbe at the tyme of my decease, the some of fyve pounds of lawfull money of England, to be equally distributed amongste them.

' Item, I geve and bequeathe to my fellowe, William Shakespeare, a thirty shillinge peece in gould ; to my fellowe, Henry Condell, one other thirty shillinge peece in gould ; to my servaunte, Christopher Beeston, thirty shillings



in gould ; to my fellowe, Lawrence Fletcher, twenty shillings in gould ; to my fellowe, Robert Armyne, twenty shillings in gould ; to my fellowe, Richard Coweley, twenty shillings in gould ; to my fellowe, Alexander Cook, twenty shillings in gould ; to my fellowe, Nicholas Tooley, twenty shillings in gould.

‘ Item, I geve to the preacher, which shall preache at my funerall, the some of twenty shillings.

‘ Item, I geve to Samuell Gilborne, my late apprentice, the some of fortye shillings, and my mouse colloured velvit hose, and a white taffety dublet, a blacke taffety sute, my purple cloke, sword, and dagger, and my base viall.

‘ Item, I geve to James Sands, my apprentice, the some of fortye shillings, and a citterne, a bandore, and a lute, to be paid and delivered unto him at the expiration of his terme of yeres in his indenture of apprenticeshood.

‘ Item, my will is that Elizabeth Phillips, my youngest daughter, shall have, and quietlye enjoye, for terme of her natural lyfe, my house and land in Mortelacke which I lately purchased to me, Anne, my wife, and to the said Elizabeth, for terme of our lives, in full recompence and satisfaction of hir parte and portion which she may in any wise challenge or demand of in and to any of my goods and chattels whatsoever.

‘ And I ordaine and make the said Anne Phillips, my loving wyfe, sole executrix of this my present testament and last will ; provided alwaies that if the said Anne, my wyfe, do at any tyme marrye after my decease, that then and from thenceforth shee shall cease to be any more or longer executrix of this my last will, or any waies intermeddle with the same, and the said Anne to have no parte or portion of my goods or chattells to me or my executors reserved or appointed by this my last will and testament ; and that then and from thenceforth John Hemings, Richard Burbage, William Slye, and Timothie Whithorne, shal be fullie and whollie my executors of this my last will and testament, as though the said Anne had never bin named : and of the execution of this my present testament and laste will, I ordayne and make the said John Hemings, Richurd Burbage, William Slye, and Timothie Whithorne, overseers of this my present testament and last will : and I bequeathe unto the said John Hemings, Richard Burbage, and William Slye, to either of them my said overseers, for their paines herein to be taken, a boule of silver of the value of fyve pounds a piece. In witness whereof to this my present testament and laste will, I, the said Augustine Phillippes, have put my hand and seale the day and yeaere above written.

A. PHILLIPS (L. S.)

‘ Sealed and delivered by the said Augustine Phillips, as his last will and testament, in the presence of us,

ROBERT GOFFE,

WILLIAM SHEPHERD.’

Robert Goffe was, of course, the actor whose name was usually spelt Gough, who had married the sister of the testator. William

Shepherd may have been the scrivener, or scrivener's clerk, who drew the will: we know of no player of that name. Neither of Phillips's apprentices, Gilburne and Sands, seems to have attained eminence in the profession.

WILLIAM KEMP.

It is ascertained that William Kemp¹ was the original actor of the parts of Dogberry, in *Much Ado about Nothing*, and of Peter, in *Romeo and Juliet*. A knowledge of these facts is derived from the carelessness of the old copyists and printers; for in some of the early editions of the plays above mentioned, the name of the actor is found inserted instead of that of the character he sustained: thus in act iv, scene 2, of *Much Ado about Nothing*, we have Kemp and Cowley (another performer, whose name will often again occur) as the prefixes to the speeches of Dogberry and Verges, in the quarto and folio impressions;² and in act iv, scene 5, of *Romeo and Juliet*, we meet with 'Enter Will. Kemp', instead of 'Enter Peter', in the quartos of 1599 and 1609: this last mistake only was corrected in the folio of 1623. From a passage, which we shall have occasion to cite presently, from an anonymous comedy, called *The Return from Parnassus*, it has been supposed by Malone that Kemp was also the representative of Justice Shallow in *Henry IV, Part 2*,³ but that he was the first Grave-digger in *Hamlet*, Launce in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Touchstone in *As You Like It*, and Launcelot in *The*

¹ The name is spelt Kempt in the list of actors preceding the folio of 1623, but elsewhere we find it invariably either Kempe or Kemp.

² The Rev. Mr. Dyce, in his Introduction to Kemp's *Nine Days' Wonder* (re-printed for the Camden Society in 1840), does not seem to have been aware that Kemp's name, instead of that of Dogberry, is found not only in the 4to. of 1600, but in the folio of 1623: he says, 'In the only 4to. of *Much Ado about Nothing*, 1600, 'Kemp' is prefixed to some speeches of Dogberry.' Precisely the same remark will apply to the same comedy in the folio of 1623.

³ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 197. The inference is hardly warranted by the description there given, as will be seen hereafter.

Merchant of Venice, is merely matter of conjecture:¹ we know that there were other low comedians, in the company which produced Shakespeare's dramas, very capable of such parts; and we know also that Kemp did not belong to the association when it is probable that one or more of these plays was first acted.

Kemp's name is, we believe, only found in one list of the performers prefixed or appended to any play of the time, viz.—Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*; but, as in the case of Shakespeare and the other actors, no information is given regarding the particular character assigned to him in it: the author inserts 'Will. Kemp' fifth in the list at the end, in the folio edition of his works of 1616, where he tells us also that the comedy was represented by the Lord Chamberlain's servants in 1598. It is unquestionably a mistake to suppose that he was Carlo Buffone in the same dramatist's *Every Man out of his Humour*, acted in 1599, because Kemp's name does not occur in the enumeration of players printed on the last page of the comedy, where otherwise it would assuredly have been found.² That he was the most popular performer of low-comedy parts after the decease of Tarlton, and until his own death, will admit of no dispute; and although direct evidence is so scanty, we may be confident that few plays of a humorous kind were produced by companies to which Kemp belonged, while he remained on the stage, in which his assistance was not required: authors, who had so favourite and so capital a performer at their disposal, would not often omit to avail themselves of his services. It is singular, therefore, that Ben Jonson did not require Kemp's aid in *Every Man out of his Humour*, and the probability is that he was not then one of the Lord Chamberlain's players.

The earliest notice we possess of Kemp affords the strongest testi-

¹ Chalmers's *Apology*, p. 457.

² It is rather singular the Rev. Mr. Dyce should not have observed that Kemp's name is not in the list of performers appended by Ben Jonson himself: if there be any authority for stating that 'there is good reason to believe' that Kempe acted Carlo Buffone (Introd. to Repr. of *Nine Days' Wonder*, p. vi), the Rev. Mr. Dyce does not assign it, and the author of the comedy was certainly not acquainted with the fact.

mony of his celebrity. Richard Tarlton, the most famous actor of clowns' parts that our early theatre ever produced, was buried, as already mentioned, on September 3rd, 1588; and Kemp seems instantly, not merely to have stepped into the vacancy, but to have filled it with such ability as to leave little to be regretted in the loss of his predecessor. Thomas Nash printed one of his attacks upon Martin Mar-prelate in the very year after Tarlton's death, and he humorously dedicates it 'To that most comicall and conceited cavaliere, Monsieur du Kempe, Jestmonger, and Vicegerent generall to the Ghost of Dicke Tarlton'. The tract is entitled *An Almond for a Parrot, or Cuthbert Curry-knave Almes*; and as the dedicatory epistle is highly humorous and characteristic, and as it proves, moreover, the continental reputation which Kemp, even in 1589, had acquired, it is subjoined from the original edition. The date is not upon the title-page of the pamphlet, but extraneous circumstances prove that it could not have been printed later than 1589.

'Brother Kempe, as many alhailes to thy person as there be haicocks in July at Pancrudge. So it is, that what for old acquaintance, and some other respectes of my pleasure, I have thought good to offer here certaine spare stuffe to your protection, which, if your sublimitie accept in good part, or vouchsafe to shadow with the curtaine of your countenance, I am yours till fatall destiny, two yeares after doomes day. Many write bookes to knights and men of great place, and have thankes, with promise of a further reward for their paines : others come of with a long epistle to some rufing courtier, that sweares, swoundes and bloud ! as soone as ever their backe is turnd, a man can not goe in the streetes for these impudent beggers. To avoide, therefore, as well the worthless attendance on the one, as the usual scorne of the other, I have made choise of thy humorous selfe to be the pleasant patron of my papers. If thou wilt not accept of it, in regard of the envy of some citizens that can not away with argument, Ile preferre it to the soule of Dick Tarlton, who I know will entertaine it with thankes, imitating herein that merry man Rablays, who dedicated most of his workes to the soule of the old Queene of Navarre many yeares after her death, for that she was a maintainer of mirth in her life. Marry, God send us more of her making, and then some of us should not live so discontented as we do : for now a dayes, a man can not have a bout with a balletter, or write *Midas habet aures asininas* in great Romaine letters, but hee shall bee in daunger of a further displeasure. Well, come on it what will, Martin and I will allow of no such doings : wee can cracke halfe a score blades in a backe-lane though a constable come not to part

us. Neither must you thinke his worship is to pure to be such a swasher, for as Scipio was called Africanus, not for relieving and restoring, but for subverting and destroying of Africa, so he and his companions are called Puritans, not for advancing or supporting of puritie by their unspotted integritie, but for their undermining and supplanting it by their manifold heresies. And in deed therein he doth but apply himselfe to that hope which his holinesse the Pope, and other confederate forriners, have conceived of his towardnesse. For comming from Venice the last summer, and taking Bergamo in my waye homeward to England, it was my happe, sojourning there some foure or five dayes, to light in felowship with that famous Francatrip' Harlicken, who, perceiving me to bee an English man by my habit and speech, asked me many particulars of the order and maner of our playes, which he termed by the name of representations : amongst other talke he enquired of me, if I knew any such Parabolano, here in London, as Signior Chiarlatano Kempino? Very well (quoth I), and have beene oft in his company. He, hearing me say so, began to embrace me a new, and offered me all the courtesie he colde for his sake, saying, although he knew him not, yet for the report he had hard of his pleasance, hee colde not but bee in love with his perfections, being absent. As we were thus discoursing, I hard such ringing of belles, such singing, such shouting, as though Rhodes had been recovered, or the Turke quite driven out of Christendome : therewithal I might behold an hundreth bonifiers together, tables spred in the open streetes, and banquets brought in of all handes. Demaunding the reason of him that was next me, he told me the newes was there (thankes be to God) that there was a famous schismatike, one Martin, newe sprung up in England, who by his bookes, libels, and writings, had brought that to passe, which neither the Pope by his Seminaries, Philip by his power, nor all the holy league by their underhand practises and policies, could at any time effect : for whereas they lived at unitie before, and might by no meanes be drawne unto discord, hee hath invented such quiddities to set them together by the eares, that now the temporalitie is readie to plucke out the throtes of the cleargie, and subjects to withdraw their allegiance from their Soverayne : so that, in short time, it is hoped they will be up in armes one against another ; whiles we, advantaged by this domesticall envy, may invade them unawares, when they shall not be able to resist. I, sory to heare of these triumphes, coule not rest till I had related these tidings to my countrimen. If thou hast them at the second hand (fellow Kempe) impute it to the intercepting of my papers, that have stayed for a good winde ever since the beginning of winter. Now they are arrived, make much of them, and with the credit of thy clownery protect thy Cutbert from carpers.

Thine in the way of brotherhood,

'CUTBERT CURRY-KNAVE.'

Another tract, with the date of 1589, may be quoted, as establishing the high character Kemp enjoyed with popular audiences. The

manner in which the Puritans had just previously been ridiculed on the stage is testified by Nash in the tract already referred to, by Lily in his *Pap with a Hatchet*, by the author of *Countercuffe given to Martin, Junior*, and by various other pamphleteers of the time, whom it is unnecessary here to cite; but the publication to which we have above alluded mentions Kemp by name, as one of the principal instruments of theatrical attack upon Martin Mar-prelate and his followers, and hence the peculiar appropriateness of the dedication to him of Nash's *Almond for a Parrot*. It has for title, '*Theses Martinianæ: that is, certaine Demonstrative Conclusions, sette downe and collected (as it should seeme) by that famous and renowned Clarke, the Reverend Martin Marprelate, the great,*' etc., which purports to have been 'printed by the assignees of Martin, Junior, without any privilege of the Cater-caps'. Among other curious passages it contains the following paragraph:—

'The stage-players, poore, seelie, hunger-starved wretches, they have not so much as an honest calling to live in the common-wealth: and they, poore varlets, are so base minded, as at the pleasure of the veriest rogue in England, for one poore pennie, they will be glad on open stage to play the ignominious fooles for an houre or two together. And therefore, poore rogues, they are not so much to be blamed, if being stage-players, that is plaine rogues (save onely for their liveries) they, in the action of dealing against Maister Martin, have gotten them many thousand eye-witnesses of their wittlesse and pittifull conceites.'

In the next paragraph the author enumerates some of the persons who had assailed the Puritans, and among them we find the names of Dick (meaning of course Dick Tarlton, then recently dead), and Kemp, both of whom, it is contended, had 'bewrayed their owne shame and miserable ignorance'.

We have other evidence to prove that Kemp was looked upon by audiences at the theatres as the worthy successor of Tarlton. Thomas Heywood was the contemporary of Kemp; if, indeed (as seems not impossible from his own words on the subject) he had not been acquainted with Tarlton.¹ Heywood was not only a most prolific dramatist, often much indebted to Kemp for the success of his plays,

¹ Heywood mentions Knell, Bentley, Mills the elder, Wilson, Cross, and

but an actor upon the same boards. In 1612 (some years after the death of Kemp), Heywood published his *Apology for Actors*, and he there speaks of Tarlton and Kempe as follows:—‘Here I must needs remember Tarlton, in his time gracious with the Queene, his sovereign, and in the people’s generall applause; whom succeeded Will. Kemp, as wel in the favour of her majesty, as in the opinion and good thoughts of the generall audience.’¹ It is quite clear, therefore, that Kemp was considered, not merely by the populace, but by such excellent judges as Nash and Heywood, a good substitute even for an admirable comedian like Tarlton.

The year of Kemp’s birth is unknown, and we have no clue whatever to his age, excepting that Nash speaks of him, in 1589, as a complete and finished actor, whose reputation had extended far beyond the shores of England. We may very well suppose him, therefore, to have been as old, or nearly as old, as Shakespeare; and in a list of the company to which they both belonged in 1589, Kemp’s name immediately follows that of our great dramatist. No hint is anywhere given as to the place of his birth; but, perhaps, we may infer that it was not London, from the fact that, among others, he was celebrated for characters in which it was necessary to employ a merely rustic dialect. Several of the names of actors in the association to which Shakespeare belonged, were, as before mentioned, common in Warwickshire, but we do not find that such was the case with Kemp.

He must have quitted this company (the Lord Chamberlain’s servants) before June 1592, and joined a rival body of actors under Edward Alleyn (the founder of Dulwich College), for Kemp’s name is made especially prominent on the title-page of a play brought out by Alleyn and his associates between the 9th and 12th June 1592, and printed in 1594.² The fact of its earliest performance is thus

Lanam, as performers he had never seen, ‘being before my time’. He does not include Tarlton, whom he could scarcely have omitted from the list, if he had not had an opportunity (perhaps when quite a boy) of seeing him.

¹ Shakespeare Society’s reprint of *An Apology for Actors*, p. 43.

² The Rev. Mr. Dyce says, that the play ‘was printed in 1594, 4to., having been

attested by Philip Henslowe in his *Diary*, p. 27:—'Rd. [*i.e.* received] at *A Knacke to Know a Knave*, 1592, 1 day, *iiij. xijs*. The words '1 day' mean, that it was the *first day* it was acted, and we find the letters *ne* also in the margin, which Henslowe invariably inserted as an indication of the same fact. The full title of this drama in the printed copy is this:—'A most pleasant and merie new Comedie, intituled *A Knacke to Know a Knave*, newlie set forth, as it hath sundrie tymes bene played by Ed. Allen and his Companie. With Kemp's applauded *Merriments* of the Men of Goteham, in receiving the King into Goteham. Imprinted at London by Richard Jones, dwelling at the signe of the Rose and Crown, nere Holborne bridge. 1594.' We may be sure, therefore, that Kemp had rendered these 'Merriments' (consisting only of part of one scene) highly laughable and popular; and for this reason, though forming so small a part of the whole performance, they were made obvious, in connexion with his name, when the production came from the press. Kemp's ground for relinquishing his situation among the Lord Chamberlain's players we are without any means of knowing: no explanation is contained in any author of the time that we have consulted; but we may presume, that, at a period when competition among various companies was so great, Kemp would be much in request, and highly advantageous terms would be held out to him for the purpose of securing his services. We shall see hereafter, that he rejoined the association to which he had been attached in 1589, and that he subsequently again quitted it, in order to act under the management of Alleyn and Henslowe. He that could make so much out of so little, as the anonymous author of *A Knack to Know a Knave* seems to have furnished him with, must have been a very valuable acquisition.

The reader cannot fail to be disappointed by *Kemp's applauded Merriments*, as they stand in the printed drama; and in order that they might be relished by the audience, we must presume that

entered in the Stationers' books to Rich. Jones, 7th January, of the preceding year'. This, however, is an error: January 1593, was in fact January 1593-4, according to the usual division of the year at that period.

Kemp, and perhaps the other performers on the stage with him, added, on the sudden, a great deal that has not come down to us.

They constitute the whole of the '*applauded merriments*', and this was probably all that the author of the *Knack to Know a Knave* had put down for the performers, leaving it to Kemp, and the two other comic actors concerned with him, to make what additions occurred to them in order to excite laughter. When, some years afterwards, Kemp was called upon to perform the part of Dogberry, it is not impossible that he might attempt to take the same liberty with his text, and this very circumstance may have led Shakespeare in his *Hamlet*, at a subsequent date, so severely to censure the practice. How different is the poor blundering dialogue between the Miller, the Cobbler, and the Smith, in *A Knack to Know a Knave*, from the rich humour put into the mouths of Dogberry, Verges and the Watch, in *Much Ado about Nothing*, we need not pause to show. The practice of Kemp and his predecessor in extemporizing is adverted to by Richard Brome (an excellent dramatist, who had lived with Ben Jonson, and generally took that distinguished poet for his model) in his comedy called *Antipodes*, which was not printed until 1640, but must have been written some years earlier: it is in a dialogue between Byplay, an actor, and an old lord, called Letoy, who is endeavouring to instruct him, and to correct some of his bad propensities: among other faults, Letoy complains of Byplay that he takes upon himself to add to or diminish his part, and to hold interlocutions with the audience, instead of attending to the dialogue and business of the scene: Byplay answers—

‘That is a way, my lord, has been allowed
On elder stages, to move mirth and laughter.’

Upon which Letoy adds

‘Yes, in the days of Tarlton¹ and Kempe,
Before the stage was purg’d from barbarism,

¹ In this line ‘Tarlton’ is clearly to be spoken as three syllables, and it will be recollected that it is so written in the Register of St. Leonard’s, Shoreditch, where he was buried—*Torrelton*. The most usual way of spelling the name was Tarleton, and perhaps it ought to have been followed.

And brought to the perfection it now shines with:
 Then fools and jesters spent their wits, because
 The poets were wise enough to save
 Their own for profitabler uses.'

Such might have been the usual 'way' in the days of Tarlton, and in the earlier part of the career of Kemp, possibly before Shakespeare had become an established writer for the stage, and the practice must have prevailed to a certain, and an objectionable extent afterwards.

At the time when Kemp played in *A Knack to know a Knaves*, he was, as we have stated, a member of Alleyn's company, acting at the Rose on the Bankside, and perhaps at the Theatre in Shoreditch. The Globe was not then constructed, so that the Lord Chamberlain's players performed at the Blackfriars Theatre in the winter, and probably at the Curtain in the summer, shares in which a few of the actors retained till their deaths, sometime after the Globe had been opened. We have no means of knowing precisely how long after 1592 Kemp continued with Alleyn and his associates; but he had rejoined the Lord Chamberlain's players in or before 1596, when his name (again following that of Shakespeare) is found in a petition to the Privy Council in favour of the repair and enlargement of the Blackfriars playhouse.¹

In the meanwhile, Kemp seems to have availed himself of his popularity by the publication of several pieces then known by the name of *Figs*. This species of humorous theatrical performance consisted, as formerly observed, of singing, dancing, and music, and a specimen by Tarlton has come down to our day in manuscript, and is inserted in the introduction to one of the publications of the Shakespeare Society.² From this relic we may judge in some degree of the rest; and there can be no doubt that drollery and satire were intermixed in them with a great deal of droll buffoonery, and that they sometimes required the assistance of other performers. We

¹ See vol. i, p. 288, of Collier's *Shakespeare*, edit. 1844.

² *Tarlton's Jests, and News out of Purgatory*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., etc., p. 20. The jig is entitled *Tarlton's Figge of a horse-loade of Fools*.

have traces of three 'jigs' in connection with Kemp's name, but how far he was concerned in the authorship of them, it would most likely be impossible to determine, had any of them reached our day: as it is, we only find mention of them in the registers of the Stationers' Company, when they were entered with a view to publication. That one of them was actually printed we have contemporary evidence in the collection of Epigrams and Satires published anonymously (but unquestionably by Edward Guilpin) under the title of *Skialetheia, or the Shadow of Truth*, 8vo., 1598, where we are informed that 'Kemp's Jig' was then sung in the open streets:—

But, oh, purgation! you rotten-throated slaves,
Engarlanded with money-catching knaves,
Whores, bedles, bawdes, and sergents, filthily
Chaunt Kemp's Jigge, or the Burgonian's tragedy.¹

No clue is elsewhere given to lead us to a knowledge of the particular jig by Kemp here alluded to; but, as we have already mentioned, there are traces of three in association with his name, and they stand thus in the only extant record of their existence—the books of the Stationers' Company. The first memorandum shows that two other parts of the jig had been written, acted, and perhaps printed, but no notice of them is to be found in the registers:

28 December 1591, Thomas Gosson, entred for his copie, under thand of Mr. Watkins, the Thirde and last parte of Kempe's Jigge, soe yt appertayne not to anie other, *vjd.*

iido die Maij 1595, William Blackwall, entred for his copie under Mr. Warden Binges hande, a ballad of Mr. Kempe's Newe Jigge of the Kitchen stuffe Woman, *vjd.*

¹ In the year after the appearance of *Skialetheia*, Marston published his *Scourge of Villanie*, and there also 'Kemp's Jig' is spoken of, but not as a song or ballad, but as a dance:

'A hall! a hall!
Roome for the spheres: the orbes celestiall
Will daunce Kempes Jigge.'

See Mr. Halliwell's *MS. Rarities of Cambridge*, p. 8, for an account of the preservation of the music of one of 'Kemp's Jigs', although the notes are unfortunately not accompanied by the words.

21 October 1595, Tho. Gosson, entred for his copie under thande of the Wardens, a ballad called Kempe's new Jygge betwixt a souldior, and a miser, and Sym the clown, *vjd.*¹

The last entry may be thought to prove, that three performers were sometimes required for a jig, but the only extant specimen was evidently delivered by Tarlton alone, who sang it, and accompanied himself at intervals on his pipe and tabor. The names of Thomas Gosson and William Blackwall were those of the booksellers, who, having procured copies of the productions, wished to secure the right of publishing them; but we may reasonably doubt (as in the case of Phillips) whether they were composed or only acted by Kemp, and whether he was privy to, or obtained any advantage by, their publication. As far as we can judge, jigs were introduced by comic actors to relieve the weight of a performance, and to dismiss the spectators cheerfully. Ben Jonson, in *Every Man out of his Humour*, acted in 1599, speaks of 'a jig after a play', and in *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, printed in 1601, we are told that it was then customary 'to call for a jig after the play was done'.

We are not disposed to impute any high literary attainments to Kemp, and it is very evident that the author of *The Return from Parnassus*, of which we shall say more presently, meant to cast some ridicule upon his ignorance, when he made him pronounce an opinion, in his own person, that 'Few of the University pen plays well: they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer Metamorphosis, and talk too much of Proserpina and Juppiter'. We have therefore no hesitation in concurring with the Rev. Mr. Dyce that Kemp was not the author of *A dutiful Invective against the most haynous Treasons of Ballard and Babington*, 4to., 1587. Though we agree in the result, we do not agree in the reasoning by which it is supported; for when Mr. Dyce urges that Kemp's word is to be taken, that his *Nine Days' Wonder* was 'the first pamphlet' he had ever 'offered to the press', the reverend gentleman forgets the facts, to which he himself adverted, relating to the publication of

¹ We derive most of these memoranda from the Rev. Mr. Dyce's Introduction to Kemp's *Nine Days' Wonder*, p. 20.

Kemp's three *Jigs* in 1591 and 1595. It is very possible, however, that Kemp was not concerned in the temporary drolleries issued under his name, excepting as the performer of them: the *Dutiful Invective* was assuredly not his; and in the *History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage*, Ritson's information upon the point was too hastily adopted. It is not unlikely, however, that Kemp's name was then improperly made use of by the real author on account of its great popularity.

The Stationers' books do not state at what theatre Kemp's 'jigs' were performed; but, as already observed, it is ascertained that he had returned to his old quarters, as a member of the company called the Lord Chamberlain's players, in 1596. He seems to have continued to act with them, at all events, until after the production of *Much Ado about Nothing* (as we suppose about 1599), and how much longer is doubtful: we also know nothing, excepting by conjecture, of the cause of his joining the rival association under Alleyn, who, in conjunction with Henslowe and others, had built the Fortune Theatre in Golden Lane, Cripplegate, in the very commencement of the seventeenth century, and who possibly, and for the sake of giving attraction to the house, induced Kemp to abandon his old associates at the Globe and Blackfriars. Certain it is that he was a member of the company which acted under the patronage of the Earl of Nottingham until the accession of James I, when they became the players of Prince Henry; and although we do not meet with Kemp's name in any extant list of the association, it occurs several times in Henslowe's *Diary*, relating mainly to the transactions of the Earl of Nottingham's players, under the dates of March, August, and September, 1602. The following extracts prove incontestibly that Kemp was in Henslowe's pay and employment, as an actor, at that period.

Lent unto Wm. Kempe, the 10 of Marche 1602, in redy monye, twentye shellinges for his necessary usses, the some of xxs.—(*Diary*, p. 215.)

Lent unto Wm. Kempe, the 22 of Auguste 1602, to bye buckram to macke a payer of gyents hosse, the some of vs.—(p. 237.)

Lent unto the company the 3 of Septembr 1602, to bye a sewte for Wm. Kempe, the some of xxxs.—(p. 238.)

Pd unto your tyerman for mackinge of Wm. Kempes sewt, and the boyes, the 4 of septembr 1602, some of viijs. 8d.—(p. 239.)

Here we see Kemp spoken of and treated by the old manager like any ordinary member of his company in 1602: money was advanced to him, another sum was paid to him that he might obtain materials for one of the properties, a third amount was lent to the company to purchase a suit for him, and a fourth was delivered to the tireman, who had charge of the apparel of the actors, in order that Kemp and his boy might be furnished with dresses adapted to the particular characters they were to perform.

We have already adverted to Kemp's talent for and habit of extemporizing, 'taking license', in the words of old Letoy—

'to add unto

Your parts your own free fancy, and sometimes
To alter or diminish what the writer
With care and skill compos'd ; and when you are
To speak to your co-actors in the scene,
You hold interlocutions with the audience.'

Nobody can fail to recollect that this is precisely the fault imputed by Shakespeare, to lawless and extemporising actors of Kemp's description: 'Let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them; for there be of them that will themselves laugh, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too, though in the mean time some necessary question of the play be then to be considered: that's villainous, and shows a most pitiful ambition in the fool that uses it.' These words read as if they had been written actually with an eye to Kemp, and it is possible that our great dramatist had a special and personal reference to him. We are to bear in mind that *Hamlet* was probably not composed until 'the winter of 1601, or the spring of 1602';¹ and it was about this date, according to the quotations from Henslowe's *Diary*, that Kemp went over from the Lord Chamberlain's to Lord Nottingham's players, and of course did his best to promote the success of a competing association. It would, therefore, not be surprising if, besides

¹ Collier's *Shakespeare*, vol. vii, p. 190.

laying down a general axiom as to the abuse introduced by the performers of the parts of clowns, Shakespeare had designed a particular allusion to Kemp, then in Henslowe's company.

It is evident that Kemp was again a member of the company of the Lord Chamberlain's players when *The Return from Parnassus* was written, in which he and Burbage are employed to ascertain the merits of two university students, the one in comic, and the other in tragic acting. This remarkable play was not printed until 1606, at least no earlier edition has yet been found;¹ but it is quite clear that it was acted while Queen Elizabeth was on the throne, and we may bring its date even to a nearer point, for Nash is spoken of in it as dead, and it is ascertained, in the Introduction to the Shakespeare Society's reprint of *Pierce Penniless's Supplication* (p. xxxi), that its author had expired before 1601. We may conclude, therefore, that *The Return from Parnassus* was written between the date when Kemp rejoined the Lord Chamberlain's players, and the death of Nash.² In act iv, scene 5, Burbage and Kemp speak of engaging some of the Cambridge scholars 'at a low rate', to perform in the association to which the two actors then belonged, and while Burbage was introduced as the representative of high tragedy, Kemp was brought forward as a sort of impersonation of low comedy. After Philomusus and Studioso have entered, the latter addresses Kemp, and alludes to an important incident of his life, of which we shall say more hereafter :

'*Studiosio.* God save you, M. Kempe : welcome, M. Kempe, from dancing a Morrice over the Alpes.'³

¹ A drama preliminary to *The Return from Parnassus*, probably called *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, certainly once existed, and has been lost : in the Prologue to *The Return from Parnassus*, it is said—

'In scholars' fortunes, twice forlorn and dead,
Twice hath our weary pen erst laboured,
Making them Pilgrims in Parnassus' hill,
Then penning their Return with ruder quill.'

² Bodenham's *Belvedere or the Garden of the Muses*, is criticised in act i, sc. 2, and that work bears date in 1600.

³ Philomusus just before has asked him, 'What, M. Kempe ! how doth the

Kemp. Well, you merry knaves, you may come to the honour of it one day. Is it not better to make a fool of the world, as I have done, than to be fooled of the world, as you scholars are ?

And thence he proceeds to advert to the profitableness of acting, and to the reputations which he and Burbage had acquired by it. Philomusus admits that Kemp is 'very famous', not only for his performances on the stage, but for his 'works in print', referring of course to his jigs of 1591 and 1595, and perhaps to his *Nine Days' Wonder*, which came out with the date of 1600 upon the title-page.¹ Burbage then takes Studioso in hand, to ascertain how well he can perform the part of Jeronimo in *The Spanish Tragedy*; while Kemp proceeds to show Philomusus practically how he is to act the part of 'a foolish mayor, or a foolish justice of peace'.² It is not necessary to quote the speech Kemp puts into the mouth of the silly magistrate, because the play is printed in Hawkins's *Origin of the English Drama*, vol. iii, p. 169, and the passage is quoted at length in the Rev. Mr. Dyce's Introduction to the *Nine Days' Wonder*.

The same learned writer considers the words 'Welcome M. Kempe, from dancing a Morrice over the Alpes', only 'a sportive allusion to his journey to Norwich'. There does not seem much plausibility in this supposition, because we do not perceive the immediate connection between Norwich and the Alps; and we can prove, moreover,

Emperor of Germany?' Which refers either to a dancing expedition he had made in 'o Germany, or possibly to his performance in some company of English players who had visited that part of the Continent. We know from Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612, and other sources (see *The Alleyn Papers*, p. 19), that associations of English players had exhibited in the Low Countries and elsewhere. Hereafter we shall advert to another authority, showing that Kemp had actually been in Germany.

¹ If Philomusus refer to the *Nine Days' Wonder*, it establishes, of course, that *The Return from Parnassus* was written after its appearance.

² These are the words which are taken by Malone to prove that Kemp was the representative of Justice Shallow: he says, 'From the following passage we may conclude that Kemp was the original Justice Shallow.' (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, xvii, 114) To us they do not seem by any means strong enough to support even an inference of the kind. The Rev. Mr. Dyce, as we think unwarily, follows the dictum of Malone.

(facts with which the Rev. Mr. Dyce was not acquainted), that Kemp was in France, Germany, and Italy: he danced a Morris into France, and undertook a journey into Italy, under an engagement to return within a certain number of days.¹

Of his Morris-dance to Norwich Kemp published the account on his return, and popular as the work must have been, only a single copy of it has been preserved;² but the wood-cut upon the title-page, representing Kemp dancing with bells on his legs, and in a sort of brocaded jacket and scarf, attended by Thomas Slye, who acted as his taborer (and who was, probably, related to William Slye, the actor in Shakespeare's plays), may be seen at the top of several ballads, as a not very appropriate ornament. After it had been used for the *Nine Days' Wonder*, it seems to have come into the hands of Thomas Symcocke, the prolific publisher of versified broadsides, and he and his assigns employed it accordingly. The narrative of the trip to Norwich, which purports to have been written by Kemp 'to satisfy his friends', was printed in 4to., and bears the following title:—

'Kemp's *Nine Daies Wonder*.³ Performed in a daunce from London to Norwich. Containing the pleasure, paines, and kinde entertainment of William Kemp

¹ It was usual for persons making expeditions of this sort to lay wagers, taking odds upon the accomplishment of the task. Kemp did so, even when he undertook to dance a Morris to Norwich; and he tells us, near the end of his *Nine Days' Wonder*, that some of the persons, with whom he had 'put out money' on the event, had not paid him when he won: 'True it is (he states) I put out some money to have three-fold gaine at my returne: some that love me, regard my paines and respect their promise, have sent home the treble worth: some other at first sight have paide me, if I came to seeke them: others I cannot see, nor wil they willingly be found, and these are the greater number.'

² Perhaps on the very account of its popularity, and in consequence of the number of destroying hands through which the small tract passed: for this reason much, if not most, of the popular literature of early times has unfortunately not come down to our own.

³ Before he undertook this journey to Norwich, Kemp must have obtained celebrity for ventures of the kind: otherwise there would have been no point in Carlo Buffone's exclamation in *Every Man out of his Humour* (first acted at the Globe in the summer of 1599), when he says, 'Would I had one of Kemp's old shoes to throw after you!'

betweene London and that Citty in his late Morrice. Wherein is somewhat set downe worth note, to reprove the slaunders spred of him ; many things merry, nothing hurtfull. Written by himselfe to satisfie his friends.—London Printed by E. A., for Nicholas Ling, and are to be solde at his shop at the west doore of Saint Pauls Church 1600.'

This very rare performance, intrinsically of little value, and perhaps put together by some more practised penman than Kemp, having been reprinted by the Camden Society, under the editorial care of the Rev. A. Dyce, it is not necessary to go into any detail regarding it. It shows that Kemp took nine days to complete his fatiguing and eccentric journey, and hence the title of his tract : it narrates with some humour and vivacity all his principal adventures on the road ; but the most curious portion is 'Kemp's humble request to the impudent generation of Ballad-makers and their coherents', which is placed at the end, and which contains some droll and dark allusions to ephemeral and popular writers of the day. Thomas Deloney, who, according to this authority, was then dead, is mentioned by name ;¹ but the references to living authors of the same class, such perhaps as Richard Johnson,² Anthony

¹ The following notice of Deloney, from Nash's *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, 1596, is worth quoting :—

'Heilding Dicke (this our ages Albumazar) is a temporist, that hath faith enough for all religions, even as Thomas Deloney, the balleting silke-weaver, hath rime enough for all myracles, and wit to make a *Garland of good will* more than the premisses, with an epistle of *Momus and Zoylus* ; whereas his Muse, from the first peeping foorth, hath stood at livery at an ale-house wispe, never exceeding a penny quart, day nor night, and this deare yeare, together with the silencing of his looms, scarce that, he being constrained to betake him to carded ale : whence it proceedeth that since *Candlemas*, or his jigge *John for the King*, not one merrie dittie will come from him, but *The Thunder-bolt against Swearers, Repent, England, repent, and The Strange Judgements of God*.'

In the Registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate, we meet with the entry of baptism of Deloney's son Richard, which we give as a new fact :—'Christened : Richard Delonie, sonne of Thomas Delonie, silk-weaver, 16 October 1586.' It may be doubted whether the following, from the same Registers, do not refer to the death of the same child, although the Christian name of the father seems mistaken :—'Buryed : Richard Delonie, sonne of John Delonie, silk-weaver, 21 Dec. 1586.'

² Richard Johnson, the ballad-writer, is not to be confounded with William

Munday,¹ and even Shakespeare as the author of 'the miserable stolen story of Macdoel, or Macdobeth, or Macsometwhat', are often so obscure and indistinct, that it is impossible to fix the allusion. The Rev. Mr. Dyce is probably in error about Munday (who, he does not seem to be aware, was an actor as well as a dramatist), and he has missed, at the close, a tolerably clear and severe stroke at Henry Chettle, where Kemp speaks of him as the author of a play relating to 'the Prince of the burning Crown': a burning crown, forced on the head of a prince, forms an important incident in Chettle's tragedy of *Hoffman*, which was not printed until 1631, although written some thirty years earlier.

Not far from the end of his *Nine Days' Wonder*, and in the address to the ballad-makers above referred to, occurs this passage :—

'These are by these presents to certify unto your block-head-ships, that I William Kemp,am shortly, God willing, to set forward, as merrily as I may, whither I myself know not. Wherefore, by the way, I would wish ye to employ not your little wits in certifying to the world that I am gone to Rome, Jerusalem, Venice, or any other place at your idle appoint.'

The Reverend Editor of the reprint of the work remarks inadvertently upon this quotation, that 'no record of this second feat has come down to us'; and yet very shortly afterwards he produces a

Johnson, the player, first a member of Lord Leicester's company in 1574, regarding whom we find the following singular entry among the christenings in the Registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate :—'Comedia, base-borne daughter of Alice Bowker, and, as she saithe, the father's name is William Johnson, one of the Queen's plaiers, 10 Feb. 1586.' The child died in 1593, and its burial is thus recorded :—'Comedia, daughter of William Johnson, player, 3 March 1592.'

¹ Anthony Munday, the actor and author, was an inhabitant of the parish of Cripplegate, and in the Registers of St. Giles's Church we meet with the following entries regarding his children ; they are novel in his biography :—'Christened : Elizabeth Mundaye, daughter of Antoyne Mundaye, gent., 28th June 1584. Christened : Roase Mounday, daughter of Antoyne Mundaye, gent., 17 Oct. 1585. [Buried 19 Jan. 1585.] Christened : Priscilla Munday, daughter of Antony Mundaye, gent., 9 Jan. 1586. Christened : Richard Mundaye, sonne of Antoyne Mondye, gentleman, 27 Jan. 1587. Christened : Anne, daughter of Antoyne Munday, gent., 5 Sept. 1589.' Until now we knew not the 'local habitation' of Anthony Monday, only his 'name'.

play, printed in 1607, and written some years before, showing distinctly that Kemp was in Venice with Sir Anthony Shirley. We allude to *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, etc., by John Day, William Rowley, and George Wilkins.¹ The scene of what follows is laid in Venice :—

Enter Servant.

Serv. Sir, here's an Englishman desires access to you.

Sir Ant. An Englishman ! What's his name ?

Serv. He calls himself Kemp.

Sir Ant. Kemp ! bid him come in. [*Enter Kemp.*] Welcome, honest Will ! and how doth all thy fellows in England ?

Kemp. Why, like good fellows, when they have no money, live upon credit.

Hence Sir Anthony Shirley proceeds to ask Kemp what new plays had been brought out in London ; and Kemp mentions a piece called *England's Joy*.² An 'Italian Harlequin' being announced, he offers to get up an extemporal play, or *commedia al improvviso* ; and Kemp (who is accompanied by his boy, or apprentice) agrees, at the instance of Sir Anthony, to assist in the performance of it, observing, 'I am somewhat hard of study, and like your honour, but if they will invent any extemporal merriment, I'll put out the small stocke of wit I ha' left in venture with them'. This is followed, after Sir Anthony has withdrawn, by a long, coarse scene, which we omit, as it does not in any way contribute to our knowledge of Kemp's conduct or character. All that the extract is valuable for is to prove that, which Mr. Dyce does not seem aware it establishes, viz., that the incident was founded on the fact, that Kemp was actually in Venice very early in the seventeenth century.

¹ Wilkins was also author of *The Miseries of Inforced Marriage* 1607, in vol. v of *Dodsley's Old Plays*. As confessedly nothing is known regarding him, we are happy to be able to furnish the date of his death, four years before any dramatic work from his pen came from the press : it is from the Registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch :—'1603, George Wilkins, the poet, was buried the same day [*i.e.*, 19th August], Halliwell Street.' Halliwell, or Holywell Street, was the place of his residence ; and as 'the plague' was raging furiously in the summer and autumn of 1603, he probably died of it.

² For some account of this production, which was not properly a play, see *Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage*.

That he was also in Rome about the same period, we are able to show by other evidence, though we have no reason to think he proceeded as far as Jerusalem, the other city he mentions in the passage we have quoted from his *Nine Days' Wonder*. In the first place, unless Kemp had been in Rome, what can be the meaning of the fourth line in the following extract from a medley-ballad, printed in black letter, either at the time he was absent or very shortly afterwards, 'for the assignes of Thomas Symcocke', who was the stationer in possession of the woodcut of Kemp dancing his Morris to Norwich? it is entitled 'An excellent new Medley', and it consists of scraps of ballads strung together, generally ridiculous (and intended to be so) from their want of connection.

'Diana and her darlings deere,
The Dutchmen ply the double beere;
Boys, ring the bells, and make good cheere,
When Kempe retournes from Rome.
O man! what meanes thy heavie looke?
Is Will not in his mistris' booke?
Sir Rowland for a refuge tooke
Horne Castle.'

It is to Kemp's journey to Rome that William Rowley refers in his *Search for Money*, 1609, 4to., when, in the Address 'to all those that lack money', he says, 'Yee have beene either eare, or eye witnesses, or both, to many madde voïages made of late yeares, both by sea and land, as *the travell to Rome with the return in certain daies*, the wild morrise to Norrige, the fellowes going back-ward to Barwick,¹ another hopping from Yorke to London, and the transforming of the top of Paule's into a stable'. We may conclude, therefore, that when Kemp started for Rome he undertook to be back in a certain

¹ This feat of going backwards to Berwick, as well as Kemp's Morris to Norwich, are both mentioned by Ben Jonson in a poem, inserted on p. 814 of the folio edition of his Works in 1616.

'Or him that backward went to Berwicke, or which
Did dance the famous Morrisse unto Norwich.'

This passage does not appear to have occurred to the Rev. Mr. Dyce among the other authorities he cites (Introd. to the *Nine Days' Wonder*, p. ix), on the subject of Kemp's Morris-dance.

time, and laid wagers, with large odds in his favour, to that effect; as indeed we have seen on his own authority he had done with regard to his Morris-dance to Norwich. He, doubtless, went through France into Italy; and of his taking France in his way we find mention in Weelkes's *Ayres, or Phantasticke Sprites for three Voices*, a musical work printed in 1608, where the subsequent words accompany the notes of a song:—

'Since Robin Hood, maid Marian
And little John, are gone a,
The hobby horse was quite forgot,
When Kempe did dance alone a.
He did labour after the tabor
For to dance : *then into France*
He took pains
To skip it.
In hopes of gains
He will trip it
On the toe.'

Mr. Halliwell, in the notes to the Shakespeare Society's edition of the *Coventry Plays*, has adduced an irrefragable piece of evidence that Kemp was in Rome, and it gives the very day of the month when he returned.¹ This alone would be sufficient to confute the statement, that 'no record of this second feat has come down to us, and we may conclude that it was never accomplished'. Mr. Halliwell makes the following quotation from *MS. Sloane*, 392, fol. 401:—

'1601. September 2.—Kemp, mimus quidam, qui peregrationem quandam in Germaniam, et Italiam, instituerat, per multos errores, et infortunia sua, reversus: multa refert de Anthonio Sherly, equite aurato, quem Romæ (legatum Persicum agentem) convenerat.'

Here we see that Kemp had not only been in Italy, but, as we before noticed, in Germany, and (according to the suggestion of

¹ Hr. Halliwell therefore very justly considers, that the scene in *The Travailes of the Three English Brothers* was founded on fact. He also cites, in the same place, the song from Weelkes's *Ayres, or Phantasticke Sprites*, 1608, without being aware, perhaps, that it had been previously printed in the Introduction to the republication of Rowley's *Search for Money*.

Mr. Halliwell) he was probably the first to convey to England the news regarding the proceedings of Shirley in Persia. The arrival of Kemp in London on this account, if on no other, must have created a considerable sensation.

It was after his return from these foreign expeditions that we find Kemp uniting his exertions with those of Alleyn and his fellow actors, principally at the Fortune Theatre in Cripplegate, but sometimes at the Rose, on the Bankside, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Globe, to the company performing at which he had previously been attached. He was everywhere a favourite.

There can be little doubt that at an earlier date, and perhaps at the period to which we are now referring, Kemp lived in Southwark. The token-books preserved at St. Saviour's contain the names 'William Kemp' not unfrequently; but still we cannot be sure that the actor was intended, because in these curious records the occupation of the parties is never inserted. In 1595, 1596, 1598, and 1599 Kemp (presuming it was he) lived in a place called Samson's Rents: in 1602 he was in 'Langley's New Rents'; and we are to recollect that Langley was connected in some way with the company under Edward Alleyn (Henslowe's *Diary*, p. 134). What renders it still more probable that our actor was intended is the addition of a note, in the token-book of 1605, that his residence was 'near the playhouse', though which playhouse is meant is not specified. In that year he was again acting at the Blackfriars and Globe.

It has been remarked, with apparent surprise, that the name of William Kemp is not found with those of Fletcher, Shakespeare, Burbage, Phillipps, Heminge, Condell, Sly, Armin, and Cowley, in the license to his players, granted by King James on the 17th May 1603.¹ According to our present knowledge, it would have been extraordinary to have found Kemp included in the instrument, because there is every reason to suppose that he was then a member of the rival association under Henslowe and Alleyn: we are sure that he was so in the autumn of 1602, and the mere fact of the absence

¹ See the Introduction to the Camden Society's reprint of Kemp's *Nine Days' Wonder*, p. 9.

of his distinguished name, in the list of the King's actors in the spring of 1603, shows sufficiently that he continued with the players of Prince Henry at the Fortune. Chalmers was disposed to think that Kemp died very soon after 1603, because in the register of St. Saviour's, Southwark, he found the following entry of the death of a person of the common names of William Kemp—'1603. November 2. William Kemp, a man';¹ but he himself proves that another William Kemp was married at St. Bartholomew the Less, not far from the Blackfriars theatre, in 1606.² The truth is, that William Kemp, the actor, was alive in 1605, and, with Armyn and other players at the Blackfriars, was the object of a complaint to the Privy Council, on the part of the authorities of the city of London, for bringing some of the aldermen derogatorily upon the stage: the memorandum upon this point, derived from the civic archives, runs as follows:—

'Lenard Haliday, Maior, 1605.—Whereas Kempe, Armyn, and others, plaiers at the Blacke Fryers, have again not forborne to bring upon their stage one or more of the worshipfull aldermen of the City of London, to their great scandall and to the lessening of their authority, the Lords of the right honorable the Privy Counsell are besought to call the said Players before them, and to enquire into the same, that order may be taken to remedy the abuse, either by putting down, or removing the said theatre.'

The corporation of London had been from the first strongly opposed to the opening and continuance of a theatre in the precinct and liberty of the Blackfriars, and lost no opportunity of pointing out the objections to, and the inconveniences resulting from it. What new ground of hostility had been afforded to the Lord Mayor and aldermen in this instance we have no means of deciding, but, as we have already remarked, shortly before this date Shakespeare quitted the stage, and withdrew from the active control and immediate superintendence of the company: the consequence apparently was, that the other members of the association ran into various offences,

¹ *Apology for the Believers*, p. 458, note B.

² John Underwood, another actor in Shakespeare's plays, though of inferior note, lived and died in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less, as appears by his will, dated 4th October 1624. See the memoir of him hereafter in this volume.

not merely against the magnates of the metropolis, but against foreign princes, and even against King James himself, whose servants he had, two years before, permitted them to call themselves.

We consider it quite certain, therefore, that Kemp was still living in 1605, and it is equally clear that, prior to that year, he had rejoined the King's players: he must have done so after May 1603, but at what precise date, previous to the remonstrance of the Lord Mayor, etc., above cited, no means of knowledge have occurred to us. The Rev. Mr. Dyce did not advert to this document when he expressed the inclination of his mind, that Chalmers's extract from the register of St. Saviour's parish related to William Kemp, the subject of our memoir.¹ Besides, we have proved from the token-books of St. Saviour's, Southwark, that a William Kemp was living 'near the playhouse' in 1605. It is quite as likely, also, that an entry in the register of St. Giles, Cripplegate, relating to the baptism of 'George, son of William Kemp', in October 1605, applies to him, as that the record merely of the burial of 'William Kemp, a man', in Southwark, should relate to him; especially as it was not unusual in that parish to designate the occupation of the parties, when they were players: if the entry there had related to our William Kemp, it would in all probability have run, not 'William Kemp, a man', but 'William Kemp, player'. We have no doubt, therefore, that Kemp, the actor, was living in the autumn of 1605.

We know none of the circumstances attending the affair, nor how the wound was inflicted, but it seems certain that on one occasion Kemp received a serious sword-wound in the leg: it might be in a quarrel or by accident, on or off the stage, but it was made the subject of what was called 'a jest', which we find in print, in a small tract published in 1630, entitled *A Banquet of Jests or Change of Cheer*, and accompanied by several others, one of them for the first time mentioning our great dramatist in connection with his native town. We will first give that which refers to the subject

¹ If identity of names would prove anything, Kemp died in 1589. We meet with the following entry in the register of St. Giles, Cripplegate:—'Buried. William Kempe, servant with William Holliday. 15th April, 1589.'

of our memoir : it is a mere trifle, and but that Kemp was concerned in it, it might have been passed over as no jest at all ; it runs thus :

'Will Kemp, by a mischance, was with a sword run quite through the leg: a country gentleman coming to visit him, asked him how he came by that mischance. He told him, and withall, "Troth (said he), I received the hurt just eight weeks since, and I have lien of it this quarter of a year and never stirred out of my chamber."'

This anecdote would be worth nothing if it had related to anybody but the great popular comedian. What relates to Shakespeare is better worth preserving, because it shows how memorable he was in connection with his works in his native town, about fourteen years after his death : otherwise this incident would not deserve notice ; it runs as follows :

'One travelling through Stratford-on-Avon, a town *most remarkable for the birth of famous William Shakespeare*, and walking to the church to do his devotion, espied a thing there worthy observation ; which was a tombstone laid more than 300 years ago, on which was engraven an epitaph to this purpose:—I, Thomas such a one, and Elizabeth my wife, hereunder lie buried ; and know, reader, I, R. C., and I, Christopher Q., are alive at this hour to witness it.'

This is obscure, but if R. C. were 'alive' it is deeply to be lamented that he did not take the opportunity of saying something more about 'the famous William Shakespeare' when he had so fair an occasion ; but possibly in 1630 the narrator did not consider it necessary : we must be satisfied with this testimony to the extraordinary reputation of our great dramatist so soon after his demise. More even about Kemp would have been welcome.

We have been at much pains to search the Registers of the various parishes in which any of our early theatres were situated, but we have found no entry to prove where, or at what precise time, Kemp expired. The nearest point at which we can arrive is, that he was dead before Dekker wrote his *Gull's Horn-book*, which was printed in 1609 : we there read as follows : 'Tush ! tush ! Tarleton, Kemp, nor Singer, nor all the litter of fooles that now come drawling behinde them, never plaid the clownes more naturally than the arrantest sot of you all.' This passage was cited by Malone,¹ and to it may be

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 199.

added the testimony of Thomas Heywood, who in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, includes Kemp among the comic performers he had seen and known, but who were then no more: 'All the right', says he, 'I can do them is but this, that *though they be dead*, their deserts yet live in the remembrance of many.'¹ We conclude with a tribute from the pen of Richard Brathwayte, published in 1618, in a work he entitled *Remains after Death*—

'UPON KEMPE AND HIS MORICE, WITH HIS EPITAPH.

' Welcome from Norwich, Kempe: all joy, to see
 Thy safe returne moriscoed lustily!
 But out, alasse! how soone's thy morice done!
 When pipe and taber, all thy friends be gone,
 And leave thee now to dance the second part
 With feeble nature, not with nimble art:
 Then all thy triumphs, fraught with strains of mirth,
 Shall be cag'd up within a chest of earth.
 Shall be? they are. Thou 'st danc'd thee out of breath,
 And now must make thy parting dance with Death.'

We are not aware that any other poet left behind him a memorial relating to Kemp's character or abilities.

There is, as already stated, a woodcut of Thomas Sly and Kemp, the first playing, the other dancing, on the title-page of the *Nine Days' Wonder*, 1600. Of William Sly, a portrait was bequeathed to Dulwich College by William Cartwright: it is unfortunately now missing, but Cartwright's description of it, in his *Catalogue*, is in these words: 'Mr. Sly's picture, the actor, in a gilt frame.' The loss is deeply to be deplored, and it is hoped that the picture may yet be recovered: Lysons appears to have seen it in 1792, when he published vol. i of his *Environs*.—(Vol. i, p. 111.) Possibly it was one of those painted by Burbage, and the loss is grievous.

¹ *Apology for Actors*, Sig. E, 2 B of the original edition, and p. 43 of the reprint by the Shakespeare Society.

THOMAS POPE.

FROM what part of the kingdom Thomas Pope came we have no information, but his mother's name was Agnes Webbe, and Agnes and Webbe were names of persons connected with Stratford-upon-Avon and its vicinity. In 1560 Agnes Arden (whose maiden-name was Agnes Webbe), widow, granted a lease of forty years to Alexander Webbe of two houses and a cottage in Snitterfield (three miles from Stratford) in the occupation of Richard Shakespeare and two others. This fact may warrant a suspicion that Pope, like Shakespeare, Burbage, Heminge, Tooley, Green, and other actors of the time, originally came from Warwickshire : his mother, as we know, was alive at the time of his death, as well as his two brothers, John and William Pope.

The first time we hear of him is prior to 1588, when he acted Arbactus in Tarlton's play of the second part of the *Seven Deadly Sins* : 'To them Arbactus, Mr. Pope—to him, Will, fool.' In this relic he is invariably called 'Mr. Pope', a distinction that belongs also to Phillips and to Bryan.¹ He seems to have been a comic performer, and to have filled the parts of rustic clowns. Samuel Rowlands published his *Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-vein* in 1600, and in Satire iv he speaks of Pope and Singer as then both alive ; but as they were dead before 1611, when the work was reprinted, he rather clumsily altered the passage to the past tense as follows :—

'What meant Singer, then,
And Pope, the clown, to speak so boorish, when
They counterfeit the clowns upon the stage,
Since country fellows grow in this same age
To be so quaint in their new printed speech,
That cloth will now compare with velvet breech ?'

¹ We may infer, perhaps, that at this time Pope was an actor at the Curtain, in which theatre he owned shares to the last. There is some reason to suppose that in 1593 he belonged to the same company as Edward Alleyn, who, writing to his wife on 1st August of that year, says, 'I have sent you by this bearer, Thomas Pope's kinsman, my white waistcoat, because it is a trouble to me to carry it : receive it with this letter, and lay it up for me till I come.'

The last line, of course, refers to Robert Greene's celebrated *Contention between Velvet Breeches and Cloth Breeches*, first printed in 1592. In 1611, when Rowlands published the new edition of his *Letting of Humours Blood*, etc., Pope had been dead about eight years.

His eminence in the profession cannot be doubted. In 1596 his name stands at the head of the eight petitioners to the Privy Council for the repair of the Blackfriars Theatre : in 1599 he and John Heminge represented the company of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, when they received 30*l.* for the performance of three plays at Court ;¹ and it seems more than probable that Pope ceased to act soon afterwards, although he continued connected with three theatres to the day of his death. His name is not included in the list of the King's players in May 1603, as from his eminence it must unquestionably have been, if he had then remained upon the stage. He had a character in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* in 1598, and in the same dramatist's *Every Man out of his Humour* in 1599, but we recollect no other plays with which his name is connected. What parts were allotted to him in any of the dramas of Shakespeare, we can only speculate from the fact that, at all events late in his career, he was accustomed to represent only rustics.

Mr. Cunningham conjectures that Pope sold his interest in the Blackfriars Theatre to Shakespeare ; and as he does not mention it in his will, we may be tolerably certain that he had, in some way, disposed of his shares in that undertaking : the playhouses in which Pope was concerned in 1603 were the Curtain in Shoreditch, and the Globe and Rose on Bankside. In what way he was connected with the Rose is not clear, and it depends upon the following not very intelligible passage in the *Diary* of Philip Henslowe : we do not adhere to the old manager's ignorant and arbitrary orthography.

'Memorandum, that on the 25th of June 1603, I talked with Mr. Pope at the scrivener's shop where he lives, concerning the taking of the lease of the Little Rose, and he showed me a writing betwixt the parish and himself, which was to pay twenty pound a year rent, and to bestow a hundred marks upon building,

¹ Cunningham's *Revels' Accounts*, Introduction, p. xxxii.

which I said I would rather pull down the playhouse than I would do so, and he bade me do, and said he gave me leave, and would bear me out, for it was in him to do it.'¹

Hence we may infer, perhaps, that the ground on which the Rose Theatre stood belonged to the parish of St. Saviour's, and that Pope had obtained, or was on the point of obtaining, a lease of it at a rent of 20*l.* a year: Henslowe, as owner of the theatre which stood upon it, was required to lay out one hundred marks upon building, which he so strongly objected to do, that he told Pope he would rather pull down the playhouse; and Pope was contented that he should do so, if he liked it, and promised to bear him harmless. Pope did not care, as far as he was concerned, whether the Rose were or were not pulled down, because other houses might be built upon the ground, and Henslowe, not long before, had opened the Fortune Theatre in a different part of the town.² By a previous entry in Henslowe's *Diary* we find that some dispute had arisen, in 1598, between Pope and Borne (or Bird), an actor in the company of the Earl of Nottingham's players, and that the old manager had lent Borne ten shillings, 'to follow the suit' he had commenced.³

The conversation between Pope and Henslowe respecting the Rose took place on the 25th June 1603, at the scrivener's shop where Pope lived, who was no doubt the same scrivener, Bazil Nicholl, who was appointed one of the overseers of his will. The lease of the house belonged to Pope, and he bequeathed it, on certain conditions, to Susan Gasquine; but it is somewhat singular that he should say nothing of his interest in the ground on which the Rose stood: perhaps the writing that he showed Henslowe, between him and the parish, respecting a lease of it, was not executed, and that the agreement, after what Henslowe had declared, came to nothing.

The token-books of St. Saviour's parish prove that Pope had been

¹ Henslowe's *Diary*, printed for the Shakespeare Society, p. 235.

² Henslowe was under an engagement, either express or implied, to pull down the Rose when he opened the Fortune: and one of the reasons he gave to the public authorities for building the Fortune was, that the Rose was in such a state of decay, that it could not be longer used as a playhouse.

³ Henslowe's *Diary*, p. 109.

an inhabitant of Southwark as early as 1593, before the Globe was built: in that year he lived in what were called Blamer's Rents; but in 1595 he had removed to Wrench's Rents,¹ and in the next year we find him in 'Mr. Langley's New Rents', where he subsequently remained, probably till his death: he was there in 1598, 1600, and 1602, the token-books of those years having been preserved. According to a note in the token-book of 1602, Pope must have bought, or built, a house next to that in which he himself resided: it runs thus—'Next unto Pope's new one: Mayster Pope hath nowe both houses in Mayster Langlies Rents'.²

All that Malone knew about Pope was expressed in these terms: 'This actor likewise played the part of a clown. He died before the year 1600.' To prove that he died 'before the year 1600', Malone refers to Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, which was printed in 1612, and only shows that Pope was then dead. The fact is, as Chalmers established, that Pope lived only till 1604, and made his will about a month after his conversation with Henslowe, for it bears date on the 22nd July 1603. He was then, as the instrument states, 'in good and perfect health', and the cause of his death, possibly of the plague, in February following, is nowhere recorded.

We may conclude, from the wording of the will, that Pope was never married;³ but he left considerable property and money to Susan Gasquine, 'whom he had brought up ever since she was born',

¹ John Wrench, probably the owner of the property, was one of Pope's executors, and one of the witnesses to his will.

² By Pope's will, it should seem that at his death he was the owner of three adjoining houses in Langley's Rents: he lived in the centre one himself, and his tenant to the east was John Moden, and to the west John Holland. The ground on which the houses stood he held upon lease, but for what term of years is not stated. An actor of the name of J. Holland had performed with Pope in 'the second part of *The Seven Deadly Sins*': he was most likely Pope's tenant.

³ According to the register of St. Saviour's, a Thomas Pope was married to Frances Gardiner on 21st October 1607: this was perhaps the son of one of our actor's brothers, who do not seem to have been in any way connected with the stage. By the register of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, it appears that John Pope lived in that parish.

and to 'Mary Clark, alias Wood': to the latter, and to Thomas Bromley, 'who was heretofore baptised in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft', he bequeathed his shares in the Curtain and Globe Theatres. He left his mother, and his two brothers, John and William Pope, specific legacies of 20*l.* each; and, besides, made them residuary legatees. It is impossible from the terms of the will (which we subjoin) to ascertain how much Thomas Pope died worth; but he must have been in easy circumstances, and directed, among other things, that 20*l.* should be laid out upon his funeral expenses, and a monument in the church of St. Saviour's, Southwark. If such a monument were erected, it is not now to be found. Possibly Pope died in the country.

'In the name of God, Amen, the two and twenty of July, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and three, and the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James : I, Thomas Pope, of the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, in the county of Surrey, gentleman, being at this present in good and perfect health, laude and praise be given to the Almighty God therefore, do make, ordain and declare this my present testament and last will in manner and form following ; that is to say : first and principally, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, my Maker, Saviour, and Redeemer, hoping and assuredly believing to be saved through the merits, death, and passion, of my Saviour, Jesus Christ, and to enjoy eternal blessedness in the kingdom of Heaven ; and my body I commit to the earth to be buried in Christian burial, in the church called St. Saviour's, where I now dwell ; and I give towards the setting up of some monument on me in the said church, and my funeral, twenty pounds.

'Item, I give and bequeath to the poor of the liberty where now I dwell, three pounds.

'Item, I give and bequeath unto Suzan Gasquine, whom I have brought up ever since she was born, the sum of one hundred pounds, of lawful money of England, and all my household stuff, my plate only excepted.

'Item, I will that the said Suzan Gasquine shall have the use and occupation of all that house or tenement wherein I now dwell, in the parish of St. Saviour's aforesaid, during her natural life, if the lease and term of years which I have in the same shall so long continue and endure, so as the said Suzan, or her assigns, do pay the one half of the rent, reserved by the lease to me, thereof from time to time, and at such time as is limited in and by the same lease, amongst others, made by Francis Langley Drax, deceased, and do also perform such covenants touching the said tenement as are to be done by force of the said lease : and if the said Suzan shall happen to die before the expiration of the said term, then I

will that my brother, John Pope, shall have the use and occupation of the said tenement during the residue, which, at the time of the decease of the said Suzan, shall be to come and unexpired of the said term, he doing for the same and paying from thenceforth as the said Suzan should or ought to have done, if she had lived to the full end of the said term.

‘Item, I will and bequeath unto my brother, John Pope, the tenement adjoining to the east side of my said dwelling house, wherein John Moden now dwelleth, for and during all such term of years as I have to come and unexpired of and in the same, by virtue of the lease aforesaid; so as the said John Pope and his assigns, during the continuance of the said term, do pay them half of the rent reserved by the said lease from time to time, and at such days and times as is limited by the same lease, and do perform such covenants touching only the said tenement, to him my said brother bequeathed, as are to be done by force of the said lease; and also that my said brother do within one month next after my decease enter into bond of a reasonable sum of money to my executors for payment of the said moiety, or one half of the said rent, and performance of the covenants touching the same tenement as aforesaid, according to my true meaning and intent in that behalf.

‘Item, I will and devise unto Mary Clarke, alias Wood, all that tenement adjoining to the west side of my said dwelling house, wherein John Holland now dwelleth, for and during the continuance of the term of years which I have in the same (amongst others as aforesaid) by force or virtue of the said lease to me made by the said Francis Langley, to be by her holden and enjoyed from time to time, free of any rent to be paid for the same as long as she lives; and after her decease I give and bequeath my interest and term of years, then to come and unexpired, of and in the said tenement, unto Thomas Bromley, who was heretofore baptised in the parish of St. Andrew’s, Undershaft, in London.

‘Item, I give and bequeath to the said Marie Clark, alias Wood, and to the said Thomas Bromley, as well all my part, right, title, and interest which I have, or ought to have, of, in, and to all that playhouse, with the appurtenances, called the Curtein, situated and being in Hallywell, in the parish of St. Leonard’s in Shoreditch, in the county of Middlesex; as also all my part, estate and interest, which I have, or ought to have, of, in, and to all that playhouse, with the appurtenances, called the Globe, in the parish of St. Saviour’s, in the county of Surrey.

‘Item, I give and bequeath to the said Thomas Bromley the sum of fifty pounds, and my cheyne of gold, being in value thirty pounds and ten shillings, to be paid and delivered unto him at such time as he shall have accomplished his full age of one-and-twenty years, provided in the meantime his mother shall receive these legacies, in regard the use thereof may bring up the boy, putting in good security for delivering in the aforesaid legacies at his full years of one-and-

twenty : and if the said Thomas shall happen to die, and depart this mortal life before he shall have accomplished his said age of one-and-twenty, then I will give and bequeath the said sum of fifty pounds, and the said cheyne of gold, unto the said Marie Clarke, alias Wood, to her own use.

'Item, I give and bequeath to the said Marie Clarke, alias Wood, the sum of fifty pounds more ; provided always, and my will and mind is, that if the said Marie shall happen to die, and depart this mortal life before the said Thomas Bromley, to be paid to him at such time as he shall accomplish the full age of one-and-twenty.

'Item, I give and bequeath to Agnes Web, my mother, the sum of twenty pounds of lawful money of England ; and to my brother, John Pope, the sum of twenty pounds ; and to my brother, William Pope, other twenty pounds.

'Item, I give and bequeath to the children of my said brethren, John and William Pope, the sum of ten pounds, to be paid and distributed equally amongst the same children, part and part alike.

'Item, I give and bequeath to Robert Gough and John Edmans all my wearing apparel, and all my arms, to be equally divided between them.

'Item, I give and bequeath to my cousin, Thomas Owen, five pounds.

'Item, I give and bequeath to my loving friend, John Jackson, one ring, with a square diamond in it.

'Item, I give and bequeath to Marie Clark, alias Woode, half my plate ; and to Suzan Gasquine the other half, being equally divided between them.

'I give and bequeath to Dorothea Clark, sister to Marie Clark, alias Wood, one gold ring, with five opalls in it : all the rest of my rings I give to good wife Willingson, who is now the keeper of my house.

'Item, I give and bequeath unto my loving friend, Bazell Nicholl, scrivener, the sum of five pounds ; and to my neighbour and friend, John Wrench, the sum of five pounds : the residue of my goods, rights, and chattels, not before bequeathed, my debts and funeral charge being first satisfied, I wholie give and bequeath to my mother, my brothers, and their children, to be equally divided between them ; and I do ordain and appoint my well-beloved friends, Bazell Nicholl and John Wrench, to be the executors of this my last will and testament, earnestly praying and desiring them to see the same performed in all things, according to my true meaning therein : and for because much of this money is out upon bonds, I do limit, for the performance of this my will, six months ; and hus not doubting but they will perform the trust in this behalf by me in them eposed.

'In witness whereof I have set my hand and seal.

THOMAS POPE.

'Sealed in the presence of

JOHN WRENCH.

JOHN EDMANS.'

We are not able, from other documents, to throw any light upon

the connexion between Pope and Mary Clarke, alias Wood, Thomas Bromley, or Susan Gasquine. Robert Gough and John Edmonds (spelt Edmans) were both players, who survived Pope many years. We may speculate that they had been his apprentices, and that on this account he singled them out from their fellows in the company. As Pope's will was proved on 13th February 1603-4, he must have died between that date and the 22nd July preceding, when he was 'in good and perfect health'.

GEORGE BRYAN.

THE appearance of the name of George Bryan as that of one of 'the principal actors' in Shakespeare's plays excites surprise, because we meet with it nowhere else, excepting in the plat of Tarlton's second part of *The Seven Deadly Sins*: his characters there were far from prominent, being those of Lucius, one of the councillors of Gorboduc, and Lord Warwick in that portion of the piece in which Henry VI was concerned: in Gorboduc it is not clear that he did not double his part, and sustain that of an unnamed lord also. However, as we have noticed in the memoir of Thomas Pope, Bryan is one of the three performers distinguished by the prefix of 'Mr.', and perhaps he was of some importance and standing, though not of any high rank in the company. The date of his connexion with the second part of *The Seven Deadly Sins* must of course have been anterior to the year 1588.¹

Chalmers had no authority whatever for stating that George Bryan 'played the Earl of Warwick in *Henry the Sixth*, during 1592';² and he seems to have confounded the play, or plays, of *Henry VI*, as

¹ Malone (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 199) tells us, 'Bryan was, I believe, on the stage before the year 1588.' How can there be a doubt about it, unless the 'Mr. Bryan' of the second part of *The Seven Deadly Sins* were some other than George Bryan, whose name is found in the list in the folio of 1623?

² Suppl. *Apology for the Believers*, p. 160.

they are printed among Shakespeare's works, with the introduction of that king, attended by the Earl of Warwick, Lidgate, and others, in the performance which Tarlton prepared before his death. Bryan did act the Earl of Warwick in that piece—'to them, Warwick, Mr. Bryan'—but to assert that he was the Earl of Warwick in the historical play, in 1592, is merely gratuitous: we have no means of knowing who was the representative of the Earl of Warwick, when *Henry VI* was acted, either in 1592, or at any other period, but probably an actor of more prominence than Bryan seems ever to have attained.

Neither had Chalmers evidence to sustain his assertion that Bryan was 'certainly dead' in 1598, and that 'he did not live long enough to represent any part in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*'. The author of that comedy only enumerates ten players as 'the principal comedians' in it, and Bryan is unquestionably not one of them; but there were sixteen characters in the play, and Bryan may have had an inferior part, not calling for the specification of him as one of 'the principal comedians' in it. The truth is that we are ignorant when or where Bryan died; but there is good reason to believe that he was living in the spring of 1600, for we read the following entry in the register of baptisms at St. Andrew's, Blackfriars, which most likely applies to our actor:—'George, sonne to George Bryan. 17 Feb. 1599.'¹

This is a source of information Malone and Chalmers never consulted; and although we find no other trace of him there, it makes it likely that he lived in the liberty in which the theatre was situated, and that he was not then an old man.

Chalmers sought in vain for Bryan's will in the Prerogative Office, and we have not been more successful: he does not occur, as a legatee or otherwise, in any of the testamentary documents of his companions of the stage.

It is to be presumed, perhaps, that he belonged, after the death of

¹ The name of Bryan, sometimes spelt Bryant, is not unfrequent in the Registers both of St. Andrew's and St. Anne's, Blackfriars, but this is the only instance in which *George Bryan* is mentioned.

Tarlton and to the end of his career, to the association known as the Lord Chamberlain's players, and we are therefore not surprised at not meeting with his name in Henslowe's *Diary*.

As in this memoir we have had an occasion to quote, for the first time, the registers of St. Anne, Blackfriars, we may introduce from them a remarkable memorandum relating to a person whose name has hitherto only been known because it is placed at the end of one of our most ancient printed plays, *The Three Ladies of London*, originally published in 1584, and again in 1592: it there stands, 'Finis. Paule Bucke', but on the title-page it is stated that the drama was 'written by R. W.' *forsan* Robert Wilson. Theatrical antiquaries have not been able to understand, therefore, how Paul Buck was concerned in it, but we can prove that he was an actor, and most likely he made and signed the transcript from which the play was printed. In the registers of St. Anne's we read, among the burials:— 'Paull, soon to Paull Bucke, bastard of a player. 2 July. 1599.' There was a natural horror of players in the puritanical district of the Blackfriars, and this entry was intended as a reproach upon the profession. Paul Buck figures insignificantly in several other parts of the same register.

HENRY CONDELL.

ALL that we positively know of Henry Condell,¹ in connection with the stage, is included in less than thirty years, viz., between 1598, when he was one of the actors in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, and 1627, when he died.

This observation will appear new and strange to those who have been accustomed to rely on the authority of Steevens, Malone, and

¹ The received orthography of the name seems to have been Condell, and so it is printed at the end of the dedication, and in the list of 'principal actors' of the folio of 1623: elsewhere we meet with it spelt Curdall (as it stands in the will) Condle, Cundell, and Condall.

Chalmers, in such matters, because they have carried back the history of Condell at least ten years earlier. Steevens found the Christian name of Harry, as that of one of the performers in Tarlton's plat of the second part of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, and at once set it down that 'Harry' meant Henry Condell—'Harry, *i.e.*, Condell'.¹ If such were the case (and we are, of course, not prepared to deny its possibility), Condell's character was that of Ferrex, the eldest son of King Gorboduc; but Harry was a very common Christian name, and it must have been borne by various performers besides Condell. It is, therefore, a mere conjecture that 'Harry' was Henry Condell: nevertheless, Chalmers adopted it as an ascertained act, and asserted, without qualification, that 'Condell represented Ferrex in Tarlton's plat of *The Seven Deadly Sins* before 1589'.²

Whether Condell did or did not belong in 1587 to the company to which Shakespeare was attached, it is certain that his name is not included in the lists of players at the Blackfriars in that year, nor at the Globe in 1596. He had a character in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* in 1598, and that, as already remarked, is the first we hear of him. If our conjecture be worth anything, he was the Captain Bobadill of that comedy, and consequently a performer upon whose talents as a comedian much reliance could be placed:³ hence it may be inferred that he was an actor of experience as well

¹ Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 356.

² *Apology for the Believers*, p. 438. The correct title of the piece is *The Second Part of The Seven Deadly Sins*; and it is necessary to note the difference, because *The Seven Deadly Sins*, constituting the first part of the same extemporal performance, has not come down to us.

³ As has been frequently stated, the names of the parts they filled are not inserted opposite the names of the performers, so that we can only speculate as to the character each actor sustained: we may, perhaps, be allowed to subjoin our notions (which of course are merely speculative) upon the point. At the end of Ben Jonson's edition of the comedy, in 1616, the names of the ten 'principal comedians' are placed in double columns, but we have arranged them probably according to the order intended by the author: *Kno'well*, Will. Shakespeare; *Kitely*, Ric. Burbage; *Brayneworm*, Aug. Philips; *Downe-right*, Joh. Hemings; *Cap. Bobadill*, Hen. Condell; *Just. Clement*, Tho. Pope; *Mr. Stephen*, Will. Kempe;

as of ability. We suppose him to have been some years on the stage in 1598, although his name be not mentioned in 1596. In 1599 he was one of the six actors in *Every Man out of his Humour*, whose names were selected by Ben Jonson to be made prominent among the sixteen performers engaged in the representation of that 'comical satire'.

In the spring of 1599, we obtain the earliest intelligence regarding Condell in his private capacity. When, where, and whom he married, does not appear; but the eldest child, of which we have any tidings, was baptised at the church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, in Feb. 1598-9: the entry is in this form, not specifying, as was done in some instances, the occupation of the father:—'Baptized, 27 Feb. 1598, Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry Condall.' At this date, and until his death, excepting during a short interval, when perhaps he took a lodging in a more airy neighbourhood, and late in life, when he had also a country-house at Fulham, Condell was a regular inhabitant of the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, where Heminge also resided; and it would not surprise us to find that they jointly occupied the same house. The registers, unlike those at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, do not in any case specify the particular abode of the parties. We believe him to have been married in 1597, but not in any parish church in or near London, the registers of which we have had an opportunity of examining: it is most likely that the ceremony took place in the country, and that he brought his wife to reside with him in town, while he pursued his professional avocations.¹ We reject the notion, founded on the assertion of Roberts, the player, that Condell was also a printer.² We have no trace of

Mr. Matthew, Will. Slye; *Dame Kitely*, Chr. Beeston; *Tib*, Joh. Duke. We have spelt the names of the characters and actors precisely as they were given by Ben Jonson, for we have very little doubt that he superintended the printing of the folio of his works in 1616.

¹ Perhaps she was from Norfolk: in his will Condell speaks of a cousin named Gilder, of 'New Buckenham, in the county of Norfolk', and Gilder may have been his wife's relation, and cousin to Condell by marriage. Possibly he was a Norfolk man himself, but we are without any information as to the place of his birth or bringing up.

² Roberts also states, but without adducing any authority for his assertion

his having followed any occupation but that of the stage, and in his will he terms himself 'gentleman', a rank actors were allowed to assume, and which they were very glad to adopt, in opposition to the puritanical enemies of theatrical performances, who continually taunted them, in the words of the old statutes, with being 'rogues and vagabonds'.

His daughter Elizabeth, above mentioned, only lived until 11th April after she was born; but on the 4th April 1601, her loss was supplied by another daughter, baptised Anne, who survived until 16th July 1610, when she was buried at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, Condell's eldest son, Richard (perhaps after Burbage) was christened on 18th April 1602; but although we meet with no trace of his burial at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, there is little doubt that he died in the lifetime of his father, as he is not mentioned in the will, where the other surviving sons and daughters are named. A second Elizabeth was baptised on 14th April 1603, but she was buried on 22nd April in the same year. Condell and his wife had no more children until 1606: on 26th October of that year they had a third Elizabeth baptised, who, from being called Elizabeth Finch in her father's will, may be concluded to have married a person of that name, but the union certainly did not take place at the church where her baptism was recorded. The entry in the registers is in this instance remarkable, because it gives us information upon another point, with which we should otherwise have been unacquainted: it runs as follows:— 'Baptized, 26 Oct. 1606, Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry Condell, Sydeman of the parish.' There can be no doubt that at this date Condell was considered one of the substantial and respectable inhabitants of St. Mary, Aldermanbury; and we learn from his will, that he was the owner of property in the parish. It does not appear

beyond stage-tradition, that Condell was a comic performer. Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 199. Our old performers were often comedians or tragedians, as suited the drama they were to act, and the company to which they were attached; but, from the plays in which we find the name of Condell most frequently occur as one of the performers, there is some reason to believe that the stage-tradition mentioned by Roberts is well-founded.

from the register, or elsewhere, that he subsequently filled any other office among his fellow-parishioners.

In the mean time James I had granted his patent, dated in May 1603, by which he constituted certain players, therein named, his own theatrical servants. In that instrument the name of Henry Condell stands sixth, following those of L. Fletcher, Shakespeare, Burbage, Phillips, and Heminge, and preceding those of Sly, Armin, and Cowley: unless we suppose 'Harry' in the second part of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, to have meant Condell, the three last were decidedly older actors than he was, and the situation he fills in the patent may afford some testimony of his rank in the company, and of his talents in the profession.

Soon after the concession of this authority, the King's players, as they were thenceforward called, seem to have taken some new recruits into the association; and we for the first time hear of two players of the names of Hostler (or Ostler) and Day as belonging to it.¹ On an official paper, preserved at Dulwich College, dated 9th April 1604, we find a list of the company indorsed: it was made merely as a memorandum, and could not have been written anterior to the date of the document, and there we find the name of Condell preceding those of Heminge, Armin, Sly, Cowley, Hostler, and Day, and succeeding those of Burbage, Shakespeare, L. Fletcher, and Phillips.² We are therefore entitled, as far as this arrangement of names goes, to consider Condell at least of equal importance to Heminge in the company.

There were several coincidences in the lives of Heminge and Condell: they married about the same time; they lived in the same parish; they had each a numerous family registered at the same church; their names are generally next to each other in the patents and lists of actors at the Globe and Blackfriars; and they were ultimately associated in the undertaking of collecting the materials

¹ Hostler and Day may have belonged to the company in May 1603, their names not having been specified in the patent. Day was an actor in *Cynthia's Revels* in 1600, and Ostler in *The Postaster* in 1601.

² *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, p. 68.

for the first folio of the works of Shakespeare. As they were joint-editors in the pious labour towards their 'friend and fellow', they will be joint partakers of the gratitude of posterity for the performance of their difficult duty.

Condell had ceased to be 'sideman of the parish' when his next child was baptized, Mary, at his parish church, on the 30th January 1607-8. Chalmers supposed that she outlived her father, because he did not find the record of her burial in St. Mary, Aldermanbury: if, however, he had looked at all carefully at the registers of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, he would have found that she was interred there in less than three months after she was born. We give the entry just as it stands, for a reason that is apparent on the face of it:—'1607. Marye Condell, the daughter of Henry Condell, was buryed the xviith of March.—Hoxton.' The 18th of March 1607, was, of course, the 18th March, 1608, according to our present reckoning; and 'Hoxton', at the end of the entry, shows the place from which the body was brought: our conjecture is, that Condell had taken a lodging there, for the sake of change of air for his wife and child, but without having been able to preserve the life of the latter. That he had no settled residence at Hoxton is quite clear, because his infant daughter Mary is the only member of his family mentioned in the parish records of St. Leonard's.

What might be the amount of property Condell had acquired at this date we have no means of ascertaining, beyond the fact that he and Heminge were the proprietors of precisely the same interest in the receipts of the Blackfriars Theatre: they had each two shares out of twenty into which the profits of the concern seem to have been divided about the year 1608. Malone was of opinion, that Condell 'was the owner of a considerable portion of the shares or property' of the Globe and Blackfriars, and if he meant that Condell was a large sharer in those undertakings, he was, doubtless, correct; but Condell would not, in his will, have talked of his '*leases, and terms of years*, of messuages, houses and places, situate in the Blackfriars and at the Bankside', if he had been one of the owners of the freehold of either theatre: besides, we are quite sure that he was not,

as far as regards the Blackfriars; and elsewhere in his will he very carefully and accurately distinguishes between the kinds of property. Two shares out of twenty, in a theatre where, most probably, the company was numerous, was a large proportion for one actor; but what was the amount of his interest in the Globe can only be matter of speculation, until we obtain sources of intelligence of which we are not yet in possession.

It is to be observed that, although we so often meet with the names of Heminge and Condell in conjunction elsewhere, they are never coupled in the various warrants of payment for performances at Court. In the series between 1603 and 1618, it does not appear that they ever waited upon the Lord Chamberlain together, for the purpose of receiving the money;¹ neither do we ever meet with the name of Condell, as that of the sole person to whom the warrant was made out. Hence we may perhaps conclude that, as far as regarded performances before the king, Condell was never recognized by persons in authority as one of the ostensible leaders of his majesty's players. Nevertheless, all existing evidence establishes that, during the whole period to which these warrants apply, he was actively engaged in his theatrical duties, and we meet with his name as one of the principal performers of Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, in 1603; of his *Volpone*, in 1605; of his *Alchemist*, in 1610; and of his *Cataline*, in 1611. These are the only dramas of that precise date, acted by his majesty's players, to which the names of the performers are appended.

He did not increase his family between January 1607-8, and May 1610; but on the 6th of the latter month a son Henry was christened at the parish church, who outlived his father, and is therefore mentioned in his will, but who was buried on the 4th March 1629. Another son, who also survived his father, was baptized William at St. Mary's, on the 26th May 1611. There is an entry likewise of the baptism of a son Edward on 22nd August 1614, but the infant was buried the day afterwards. Thus Condell and his wife, out of nine children born since 1598, had only three living in 1614, viz., Henry,

¹ See Cunningham's *Revels' Account*, Introd., p. xxxiv *et seq.*

William, and Elizabeth; and, as far as can be ascertained, they did not add to the number afterwards.

Condell played in most of the dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher brought out before the death of Burbage: indeed, his name, with that of Burbage and others, is appended to several of them, such as *The Captain*, *Bonduca*, *The Knight of Malta*, *Valentinian*, *The Queen of Corinth*, *The Loyal Subject*, *The Mad Lover*,¹ etc. He was the representative also of the Humorous Lieutenant, and another of his ascertained characters was the Cardinal, in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, when it was originally produced; but before it was printed, in 1623, he had relinquished the part to R. Robinson. This is precisely the year in which the first folio of Shakespeare bears date, and Condell's resignation of the part of the Cardinal, about the same period, is one of our reasons for thinking that he had then, at least partially, retired from the active and acting duties of the profession.

He was, however, in full employment as a member of the company in 1619, when James I granted to his players a confirmation of the patent of 1603. Burbage was then just dead, but his name, as explained in our memoir of him, is found notwithstanding in the instrument. Heminge is placed at the head of the association in the list of its members, followed by Burbage, and after Burbage comes Condell, followed by Lowin and eight others. That some consideration is due to these locations of the names of actors is quite evident, but it is difficult in any instance to say how much. This document was unknown to Malone and Chalmers, so that they had no assistance from it in the brief sketches they give of the lives of the actors in Shakespeare's plays. Richard Burbage being dead at the date of this confirmation, Condell's name may be said to stand second in the enumeration of the actors it contains, and such was

¹ The precise years in which these dramas were brought out cannot now be ascertained with any degree of precision: nearly all we certainly know regarding them is that they were acted before the death of Burbage in March 1619. As to a few, the deaths of other actors may afford a clue to their first production. The only dramatist of the time, who has fixed the dates when his plays were originally brought out, is Ben Jonson.

its actual position in 1625, when Charles I, on coming to the throne, issued a fresh patent to his players. The names of Heminge and Condell are there followed by those of Lowin, Taylor, Robinson, and eight, as we apprehend, inferior performers.

Condell would hardly have resigned such a character as the Cardinal in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, shortly prior to 1623, if he had not given up other parts to different theatrical successors about the same time. In 1625 we find him residing at Fulham, at 'his country house'; and it may be doubted whether, having first taken up his abode there only temporarily, to escape the infection of the plague prevailing in London to a most fatal extent, he did not afterwards continue his residence at Fulham, in addition to the house he permanently held in Aldermanbury. It is not at all unlikely that, his presence at the Globe and Blackfriars not being so frequently required in 1625, as it had been while he continued a performer in most of the plays represented, he rented a cottage at Fulham, to which at intervals he retired. It does not, however, seem by his will that he left any property there, and we may conclude that the house was not his own, but that he removed his wife and family to it, going himself to London only when called there by business.

It is very certain that until the last hour of his life his connexion with the stage was never terminated, but all the theatres were closed in the summer and autumn of 1625, the deaths in and near London being extremely numerous: the plague was so destructive in Aldermanbury, that it carried off the clergyman and hundreds of his parishioners, and there is a curious note in the register, stating that no correct account of the number or dates of the burials could be obtained: the consequence was that a long list of them was irregularly inserted, acknowledged by the person who made it to be very defective. During such calamitous visitations, most of the players quitted London, with a double motive—to avoid the disorder, and to obtain subsistence by acting in the country. Thomas Dekker seems never to have played, but to have been merely a dramatist: he was always poor, and perhaps could not afford to remove himself and his family from the metropolis: at all events, in 1625 he pub-

lished a pamphlet, in which he reproached and lashed all parties who made their escape from the infection. He called it *A Rod for Run-aways*,¹ and it is one of the scarcest of this voluminous author's productions on ephemeral topics: it was replied to by certain players, and other parties apparently connected with theatres (who only give their initials, which perhaps were never meant to be appropriated), in a tract entitled *The Run-away's Answer to a Book called A Rod for Run-aways*,² which is thus dedicated—'To our much respected and very worthy friend, Mr. H. Condell, at his country-house at Fulham.' It shows the good terms upon which Condell lived with his associates, and with what proofs of kindness they separated, when the latter, having been hospitably entertained by Condell, went into the provinces. It is in these terms—

'At our parting from London, to undertake our sad peregrination into the cuntry, amongst our friends (who are hard to be found) it pleased you to bestow upon us a free and noble farewell. We remember it with thanks, which cuts off the sinne of ingratitude; yet because thanks is but one word, and that your love cannot receive a requitall but in many, we send you a little bundle of papers, full. For being abused in a booke, printed at London, in which we were called Runne-awayes, wee in this our defence request you to be an arbiter, to judge whether we have not just cause to stand upon our guard in so ignoble an opposition. You are nearer to London then wee, by many miles, and therefore

¹ The full title is this:—'*A Rod for Run-awayes*. God's Tokens of his feareful Judgements, sundry wayes pronounced upon this city, and on severall persons, both flying from it and staying in it, etc. By Tho. D. Printed at London for John Trundle, etc. 1625.' Trundle was a notorious printer of ballads and temporary tracts, who has been immortalized by Ben Jonson in his *Every Man in his Humour*. He lived and carried on business in the parish (St. Giles, Cripplegate) in which Ben Jonson was married for the second time; and the registers prove, that John Trundle married Margery Parton on 4th September 1595. In due time afterwards, Elizabeth, 'the daughter of John Trundle, printer', was baptized at the same church.

² The whole title may be worth subjoining:—'*The Run-awaye's Answer to a Booke called A Rodde for Runne-awayes*. In which are set downe a Defence of their Running, with some Reasons perswading some of them never to come backe, etc. Printed MDCXXV.' Neither Malone nor Chalmers was aware of the existence of these tracts.

intreat you to publish, to so many friends of ours as you know, this our entring the lists in so brave a point of honour. Thus, wishing all happinesse to you, and a continuation of health, we rest, your most loving friends, B. V., S. O., T. O., A. L., V. S.—From Oxford and elsewhere, September 10, 1625.'

The players were at this time strolling about the country, and picking up a very precarious and scanty subsistence. 'Would it were once come', they exclaim, 'that we might have a full audience!' and farther on they make reference to their days of prosperity, when performing at the theatres in London.¹ There is no printer's nor stationer's name to the tract, but perhaps we are entitled to presume that Condell procured it to be published: we find no other indication of his connection with it, and it throws no light upon his conduct and character, beyond proving that he gave the players 'a free and noble farewell' before they went into the provinces, and that they resorted to him for a means of vindication while they were absent.

We have no data upon which we can calculate his age at this period, but that he was certainly married before February, 1598-9: supposing him then to have been five and twenty, he was not fifty when he quitted the profession as an actor, although he kept up his intimate connexion with the stage for four or five years afterwards. His interest in the two theatres, in the Blackfriars and on the Bank-side, would doubtless induce him still to watch over those undertakings; but, as before remarked, the last we hear of him as a member of the company of the King's players is in 1625, when Charles I, on succeeding to the throne, renewed the patent first granted by his father in 1603, and confirmed in 1619. In the spring of 1625, on the death of John Underwood (a member of the same association), Condell acted as executor to his will, while Heminge and Lowin were appointed overseers of its performance. At the time of Con-

¹ There is a passage in this tract, with reference to the performances of English actors abroad, showing (in accordance with other authorities) that some of them went to play on the continent, when they were prevented from performing in the metropolis: 'We can be bankrupts (they say) on this side, and gentlemen of a company beyond the sea: we burst at London, and are pieced up at Rotterdam.'

dell's decease, two years afterwards, he had not discharged all the obligations of the trust, and left them, with a solemn injunction, to be fulfilled by his widow.

He died at the close of 1627, having been buried on the 29th December of that year: the following is the brief memorial of the event in the register of St. Mary, Aldermanbury:—'Buried. Mr. Condall. December 29 1627.' His will, dated 13th December, was made at Fulham, when he was 'sick in body, but of perfect mind'; and as he directed that he should be interred 'in the night-time, in such parish where it shall please God to call me', we conclude that he was brought to his house in London before his decease. His eldest son, Henry, was intended for one of the Universities, and an annuity of 30*l.* was set apart for his maintenance there: his son William was apprenticed, probably, to a grocer of the name of Peter Saunderson, one of the four overseers of Condell's will; and another of the overseers was Herbert Finch, who had married Elizabeth Condell: the two remaining overseers were, John Heminge (who was possibly Saunderson's partner as a grocer), and Cuthbert Burbage, or Burby, as it was sometimes spelt upon the title-pages of books he published. The testator died possessed of considerable property, besides his shares in the two theatres occupied by the King's players; but as it is described in the will, which we subjoin, it is not necessary particularly to mention it here: he left his widow 'full and sole executrix'.

'In the name of God, Amen. I, Henry Cundall, of London, gentleman, being sick in body, but of perfect mind and memory, laud and praise be therefore given to Almighty God, calling to my remembrance that there is nothing in this world more sure and certain to mankind than death, and nothing more uncertain than the hour thereof, do therefore make and declare this my last will and testament in manner and form following; that is to say: first, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, trusting and assuredly believing that only by the merits of the precious death and passion of my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, I shall obtain full and free pardon and remission of all my sins, and shall enjoy everlasting life in the kingdom of heaven amongst the elect children of God. My body I commit to the earth, to be decently buried in the night-time, in such parish where it shall please God to call me. My worldly substance I dispose of as followeth. And first concerning all and singular my freehold messuages, lands,

tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, whereof I am and stand seized of any manner of estate of inheritance, I give, devise, and bequeath the same as followeth.

'Imprimis, I give, devise, and bequeath all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, situate, lying, and being in Helmet-court, Strand, and elsewhere, in the County of Middlesex, unto Elizabeth, my well beloved wife, for and during the term of her natural life; and from and immediately after her decease, unto my son, Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten; and for default of such issue, unto my daughter, Elizabeth Finch, and to her heirs and assigns for ever.

'Item, I give, devise, and bequeath all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, situate, lying, and being in the parish of St. Bride, *alias* Bridgett, near Fleet Street, London, and elsewhere in the city of London, and the suburbs thereof, unto my well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, and to her assigns, untill my said son, William Cundall, his term of apprenticeship shall be fully expired by effluxion of time; and from and immediately after the said term of apprenticeship shall be so fully expired, I give, devise, and bequeath the said messuages and premises, situate in the city of London and the suburbs thereof, unto my said son, William Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of such issue unto my said son, Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of such issue, unto my said daughter, Elizabeth Finch, and to her heirs and assigns for ever. And as concerning all and singular my goods, chattels, plate, household stuff, ready money, debts, and personal estate, whatsoever and wheresoever, I give, devise, and bequeath the same as followeth; viz.:

'Imprimis, whereas I am executor of the last will and testament of John Underwood, deceased, and by force of the same executorship became possessed of so much of the personal estate of the said John Underwood, which is expressed in an inventory thereof made, and by me exhibited in due form of law into the ecclesiastical court. And whereas also, in discharge of my said executorship, I have from time to time disbursed divers sums of money in the education and bringing up of the children of the said John Underwood, deceased, as in my accompts kept in that behalf appeareth. Now, in discharge of my conscience, and in full performance of the trust reposed in me by the said John Underwood, I do charge my executrix faithfully to pay to the surviving children of the said John Underwood all and whatsoever shall be found and appear by my accompts to belong unto them, and to deliver unto them all such rings as was their late father's, and which are by me kept by themselves apart in a little casket.

'Item, I do make, name, ordain, and appoint my said well beloved wife,

Elizabeth Cundall, the full and sole executrix of this my last will and testament, requiring and charging her, as she will answer the contrary before Almighty God at the dreadful day of judgment, that she will truly and faithfully perform the same, in and by all things according to my true intent and meaning; and I do earnestly desire my very loving friends, John Heminge, gentleman, Cuthbert Burbage, gentleman, my son-in-law, Herbert Finch, and Peter Saunderson, grocer, to be my overseers, and to be aiding and assisting unto my said executrix in the due execution and performance of this my last will and testament. And I give and bequeath to every of my said four overseers the sum of five pounds apiece, to buy each of them a piece of plate.

'Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto my said son, William Cundall, all the clear yearly rents and profits, which shall arise and come from the time of my decease, of and by my leases and terms of years, of all my messuages, houses, and places, situate in the Blackfriars, London, and at the Bankside in the county of Surrey, until such time as that the full sum of three hundred pounds by those rents and profits may be raised for a stock for my said son William, if he shall so long live.

'Item, for as much as I have by this my will dealt very bountifully with my well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, considering my estate, I do give and bequeath unto my son, Henry Cundall, for his maintenance, either at the university or elsewhere, one annuity or yearly sum of thirty pounds of lawful money of England, to be paid unto my said son, Henry Cundall, or his assigns, during all the term of the natural life of the said Elizabeth my wife, if my said son Henry Cundall shall so long live, at the four most usual feast-days or terms in the year; that is to say, at the feasts of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael the archangel, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after every of the same feast-days, by even and equal portions: the first payment thereof to begin and to be made at such of the said feast-days as shall first and next happen after the day of my decease, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after the same feast-day.

'Item, I give and bequeath unto widow Martin and widow Gimber, to each of them respectively, for and during all the terms of their natural lives severally, if my leases and terms of years of and in my houses in Aldermanbury, in London, shall so long continue unexpired, one annuity, or yearly sum of twenty shillings apiece, of lawful money of England, to be paid unto them severally, by even portions quarterly, at the feast-days above mentioned, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after every of the same feast-days; the first payment of them severally to begin and to be made at such of the said feasts as shall first and next happen after my decease, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after the same feast.

'Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto the poor people of the parish of Fulham, in the county of Middlesex, where I now dwell, the sum of five pounds, to be paid to master Doctor Clewett and master Edmond Powell, of Fulham, gentleman, and by them to be distributed.

'Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto my said well-beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, and to my said well-beloved daughter, Elizabeth Finch, all my household stuff, bedding, linen, brass and pewter, whatsoever, remaining and being as well at my house in Fulham aforesaid, as also in my house in Aldermanbury, in London, to be equally divided between them, part and part alike: and for the more equal dealing in that behalf, I will, appoint, and request my said overseers, or the greater number of them, to make division thereof, and then my wife to have the preferment of the choice.

'Item, I give and bequeath unto my cousin, Frances Gurney, alias Hulse, my aunt's daughter, the sum of five pounds; and I give unto the daughter of the said Frances the like sum of five pounds.

'Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto such and so many of the daughters of my cousin Gilder, late of New Buckenham, in the county of Norfolk, deceased, as shall be living at the time of my decease, the sum of five pounds apiece.

'Item, I give and bequeath unto my old servant, Elizabeth Wheaton, a mourning gown, and forty shillings in money, and that place or privilege which she now exerciseth and enjoyeth in the houses of the Blackfryers, London, and the Globe on the Bankside, for and during all the term of her natural life, if my estate shall so long continue in the premises; and I give unto the daughter of the said Elizabeth Wheaton the sum of five pounds, to be paid unto the said Elizabeth Wheaton, for the use of her said daughter, within the space of one year next after my decease.

'And I do hereby will, appoint and declare, that an acquittance under the hand and seal of the said Elizabeth Wheaton, upon the receipt of the said legacy of five pounds, for the use of her said daughter, shall be, and shall be deemed, adjudged, construed, and taken to be, both in law and in equity, unto my executrix, a sufficient release and discharge for and concerning the payment of the same.

'Item, I give, devise, and bequeath all the rest and residue of my goods, chattels, leases, money, debts, and personal estate whatsoever, and wheresoever (after my debts shall be paid, and my funeral charges, and all other charges about the execution of this my will, first, paid and discharged), unto my said well-beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall.

'Item, my will and mind is, and I do hereby desire and appoint, that all such legacies, gifts, and bequests, as I have by this my will given, devised or bequeathed unto any person or persons, for payment whereof no certain time is hereby before limited or appointed, shall be well and truly paid by my executrix within the space of one year next after my decease.

'Finally, I do hereby revoke, countermand, and make void all former wills, testaments, codicils, executors, legacies and bequests whatsoever, by me at any time heretofore named, made, given, or appointed; willing and minding that these presents only shall stand and be taken for my last will and testament, and none other.

'In witness whereof I, the said John Cundall, the testator to this my present last will and testament, being written on nine sheets of paper, with my name subscribed to every sheet, have set my seal, the thirteenth day of December, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign Lord Charles, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc.

'HENRY CUNDALL.

'Signed, sealed, pronounced, and declared, by the said Henry Cundall, the testator, as his last will and testament, on the day and year above written, in the presence of us, whose names are hereunder written:—

'ROBERT YONGE.

'HUM. DYSON, Notary Publique.

'And of me, RO. DICKENS, servant
unto the said Notary.

'*Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum apud London coram magistro Richardo Zouche, Legum Doctore, Surrogato, 24^o die Februarii, 1627, juramento Elizabethæ Cundall, relicte dicti defuncti et executr., etc., de bene, etc., jurat.*'

It deserves remark, that Humphrey Dyson, the notary who drew the preceding will, and who subscribes it as one of the witnesses, was a very curious collector of plays, tracts and broadsides, and not a few have come down to us with his name upon them. In 1618 he published, in folio, 'A Book containing all such Proclamations as were published during the Raigne of the late Queene Elizabeth'.

One important fact connected with the life of Henry Condell was entirely omitted by Malone and Chalmers: we refer to the death of his widow. Malone looked over the register of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, very carelessly; and Chalmers, who corrected Malone's errors (adding, however, some of his own), did not take the trouble to turn over the leaves as far as the year 1635, or he would there have met with the subsequent entry:—'Mrs. Cundell was buried, 3 of October 1635.' Her son Henry, as we have already stated, had died in March 1629-30; but her son William, the grocer, seems to have been living at the death of his mother, and we have not been able to find in the records of the parish any notice of Elizabeth Finch or her husband.

WILLIAM SLY.

SLY, or Slye, sometimes written Slie, and Slee, was unquestionably a name very common in Warwickshire, and it is not at all unlikely that our actor migrated from that part of the country about the time that Shakespeare joined a theatrical association in London. Sly is the name given to the drunkard in the Induction to the old *Taming of a Shrew*, 1594,¹ as well as in our great dramatist's *Taming of the Shrew*, and in the latter he is represented as a Warwickshire man, who refers to persons and places in that county. It is, however, to be observed that Slee, or Sly, is an old name in connection with dramatic performances in this country: John Slee, or Sly, was one of the players of Henry VIII, subsequently dismissed by Protector Somerset, and from him William Sly, the actor in Shakespeare's dramas, may have been descended. Persons of the name of Sly also were at that date weavers in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate; and we shall see presently, that our actor had some connection with it, not of the most creditable description. There were Slys, likewise, in Southwark, Shoreditch, and Aldermanbury;² so that it is not at all possible to determine from whence the family of William Sly, 'the principal actor', came, and we have nowhere been able to discover any registration of his birth.

We can trace his residence in the parish of St. Saviour's, in the neighbourhood of the theatre on the Bankside, at an early date, by means of the token-books preserved in the vestry. In the year 1588 he resided in Norman's Rents, and 'the widow Slye',³ perhaps his mother, lived near Philip Henslowe, the old manager, 'at the east

¹ See the Shakespeare Society's reprint of this unique edition in the library of the Duke of Devonshire.

² In the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, at about this period, we find mention in the registers of John Slye, Mary Slye, Albone Slye, Robert Slye, Philip Slye, and Thomas Slye. At St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, we find Mrs. Slye buried on 30th May 1592, and Mr. Slye, on 27th October 1593.

³ A William Slye, waterman, was resident on the Bankside in 1584, but we meet with no account of his burial: he might be the father of our actor.

end of the Bankside'. In 1593 William Sly had removed to Horse-shoe Court, where, and at the same date, the following actors were also domiciled:—Augustine Phillips, Richard Jones, and Thomas Dowton, or Downton. In 1595, after the building of the Globe, Sly had removed to Rose Alley, immediately contiguous to Henslowe's playhouse, and he continued there in 1596, but how long afterwards we know not.

Like various other players, we hear of Sly for the first time in his quality of an actor before the year 1588, as the supporter of a character in Tarlton's '*Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins*'. When Chalmers¹ asserts that he played Porrex in that piece, he is probably in error, for Sly's part seems, as far as we can judge, to have been Dordan, merely an attendant on Porrex: 'Enter Porrex, sad, with Dordan, his man. R. P., W. Sly.' The letters R. P. were the initials of Robert Pallant, whose name is inserted at length earlier in the plat, or sketch of the conduct of the performance, and who seems to have been the Porrex of the scene; but this is by no means certain, on account of the confused and brief manner in which the names of the actors are inserted, and from another part of the representation it might possibly be collected that Sly had the part of Porrex. This, however, is a matter of little importance; and whether Sly were Porrex or Dordan, it is very clear that he was an actor in Tarlton's drama in or before the year 1588. At this period, as we have stated, he lived in Norman's Rents, in the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark.

There is reason to believe that he was an actor under Henslowe in 1594, for we find the old manager dealing with him as one of his company: in his *Diary*, an account between him and Sly occurs, with the following heading:—'Sowld unto William Sley, the 11 of octobr 1594, a Jewell of gowld, seat with a whitte safer, for viijs., to be payd after xij*l*. a weacke, as followeth.'

To this succeed the memoranda of periodical payments; but, according to them, Sly never gave Henslowe more than six shillings and sixpence for the 'jewel of gold set with a white sapphire'; and instead of letting the old pawn-broking manager have twelve pence a

¹ *Apology for the Believers*, etc., p. 440.

week, as agreed upon, the payments were irregular, and for the first five weeks were only two shillings and sixpence in the whole.¹

This fact would tend to prove that Sly was then by no means in affluent circumstances; but, nevertheless, two years afterwards we hear of him as a member of the company to which Shakespeare belonged, and standing forward among the Lord Chamberlain's players (acting at the Globe in the summer, and at the Blackfriars in the winter) as if he were a man of some note, if not of substance, in connection with the stage. In 1596, Sly was one of the petitioners to the Privy Council for permission to repair and enlarge the latter theatre, his name being last but one (that of Nicholas Tooley follows it) in a list of eight 'owners and players'. He continued a member of the same association in the spring of 1603; and, in the patent then granted by James I to his players, Sly's name precedes those of Armin and Cowley, following those of six other performers.

We have already spoken of Sly's appearance in Marston's play *The Malcontent*, twice printed in 1604. The first impression does not inform us by what company it was originally acted, but both the author and Webster made additions to it before it was again printed, and then it was represented by 'the King's Majesty's servants'. In the Induction (whether by Marston or Webster is not ascertained), Sly, Sinklow, Burbage, Condell, and Lowin, are all introduced by their names, but the two first were dressed as characters in the drama, and the three last came before the audience merely as players.

'Enter W. Sly, a Tireman following him with a stool.

Tireman. Sir, the gentlemen will be angry if you sit there.

¹ There is another mention of Sly, not indeed in Henslowe's *Diary*, but in documents formerly at Dulwich College, and fortunately printed by Malone, as they are now missing, by which it appears that Sly had played Pero or Pierro, in some drama on Henslowe's stage. In the appendix to Henslowe's *Diary*, published by the Shakespeare Society, p. 275, we read the following in an inventory dated 13 March 1598.

'Item, Perowes sewt, which Wm Sley were.'

Henslowe meant 'were', as the past tense *wore*, referring not to the year 1598, when Sly was not a member of his company, but to some former period, when he wore the suit as Pero, and when, perhaps, he was not employed by Henslowe.

Sly.—Why, we may sit on the stage at the private house. Thou dost not take me for a country-gentleman, dost? Dost think I fear hissing? I'll hold my life thou tookest me for one of the players.

Tireman.—No, sir.

Sly.—By God's lid, if you had, I would have given you but sixpence for your stool.'

This proves the custom for gallants to sit upon stools on the stage at the Blackfriars, where this comedy was represented, for which the ordinary price was sixpence, in addition to the entrance money. Sinklow just afterwards makes his appearance as Sly's cousin, son to a usurer of the name of Doomsday, and they are joined by Burbage, Condell, and Lowin, in their plain clothes, but in their capacity of players. Condell begs Sly to put on his hat; to which he replies, 'No, in good faith, for mine ease', a not uncommon colloquial expression of the time; but as it is used by Osrick in *Hamlet* (act v, scene 2), Malone inferred that Sly had been the performer of that part:¹ Shakespeare's words are, indeed, very nearly identical with those in *The Malcontent*, put into Sly's mouth, 'Nay, in good faith, for mine ease: in good faith'; and the conjecture is at least plausible, because Sly's character in this Induction is not dissimilar to that of Osrick. Afterwards, Sly carefully takes the feather out of his hat, and puts it into his pocket, in order that he may not expose himself to the ridicule of the spectators; and after some discussion, as to the nature of the play and the 'additions', and why it was now acted by the King's players, after it had been brought out by some rival company, the actors retire to dress for the scene, and the comedy begins.

We have adverted thus particularly to the Induction to *The Malcontent*, because it may serve to show the sort of characters Sly was usually employed to represent. There is no reason for supposing that he acted the drunkard in the Induction to Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* beyond the coincidence of the name; but we are sure that he played in *Every Man in His Humour* in 1598, in *Every Man out of His Humour* in 1599, in *Sejanus* in 1603, and in *Volpone* in 1605. It is very probable that he was related to the Thomas Sly,

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 206.

who accompanied Kemp in his Morris-dance to Norwich, and played the pipe and tabor during that merry and eccentric journey : as already observed, there was a Thomas Sly resident at that date among the actors in Shoreditch. What characters William Sly had in Ben Jonson's plays, above enumerated, must be matter of speculation, founded mainly upon our acquaintance with his part in *The Malcontent*, which supports the belief that he was Osrick in *Hamlet*.

Considering what we know of Sly, we are rather surprised to find him, on 4th May 1605, appointed one of the overseers (and ultimately executors) of the will of Augustine Phillips, his coadjutors being John Heminge, Richard Burbage, and Timothy Whithorne. He was, probably, never married, : we can discover no marriage of a William Sly, at about the period, in any of the parish registers we have consulted ; but we find that in 1606 he had a natural son who was named John, and lived only a few days. Chalmers met with the registration of its burial at St. Giles, Cripplegate ; but he failed to point out the entry of its baptism in the same records, although the two memoranda are inserted near each other : they run thus, and the first, it will be seen, gives the name of the mother :—‘Christened : John, sonne of William Sley (player), base-borne on the body of Margaret Chambers, 24 Sept. 1606.’ ‘Buried : John, sonne of William Sly, player (base), 4 Oct. 1606.’

It is evident that Margaret Chambers, who brought the infant into the world, lived in the parish of St. Giles, in Cripplegate, or it would not have been baptised there ; but at this date Sly had left the Bank-side, where he was living up to 1596, and resided among the actors in Shoreditch, where we suppose others of his family to have dwelt, as several persons of the name, besides Thomas Sly, ‘the taborer’, occur in the registers of St. Leonard’s. There Sly himself was buried in less than two years after the death of his natural son, and he was registered as ‘gentleman’, and not as ‘player’, which was the more usual designation :—‘1608. William Slye, gent., was buried the same day [16 August].’ Malone only knew, from Heywood’s *Apology for Actors*, that Sly was dead in 1612, when that tract was published ; but the entry of his burial has since been discovered, and Chalmers saw his

nuncupative will in the Prerogative Office, both of which prove the year in which he was lost to the stage. His will bears date on the 4th August, twelve days before he was buried in the cemetery of St. Leonard's, and it was proved on the 24th August. Chalmers informs us that it was ineffectually resisted by a William Sly, who claimed as next of kin ; and looking at the document, without signature by any of the witnesses, and presenting other suspicious appearances, it seems extraordinary that its validity should have been established. Sly does not mention a single relation in it, but bequeaths his whole property to persons who, as far as we know, were strangers :—'To Jane Browne, the daughter of Robert Browne, and Sisely his wife, the house where he now dwells, to her, etc., for ever ; to Robert Browne, his part of the Globe ; to James Sandes, forty pounds ; the rest to Sisely Browne, making her his executrix.'

Such are the precise terms of the main body of the original will, which we have examined, and which looks like anything but an authentic document. Chalmers made a mistake in quoting it, and printed James *Saunder* instead of James Sandes, who, as we have seen, had been apprentice to Augustine Phillips ; and the error is the more important, because Chalmers founded upon it an attack upon the accuracy of Malone. A codicil was added to the will, perhaps for the purpose of conciliating Cuthbert Burbage, and giving an appearance of genuineness to the document, bequeathing to him Sly's sword and hat, together with forty shillings to be distributed among the poor of the parish.

That Robert Browne, the father of Jane, and husband of Sisely Browne, was an actor, is more than probable, although Chalmers produces, and, in fact, could produce, no evidence to support his positive assertion of the affirmative. Browne was a common name in connection with the stage at the period, and the mother of Edward Alleyn married a 'haberdasher', who was also an actor, so called. Among *The Allryn Papers*, formerly printed by the Shakespeare Society, is a letter from a Robert Browne to the founder of Dulwich College, dated 11th April 1612, in favour of a player and his wife of the name of Rose ; but this communication Chalmers never saw, and

it does not read as if Robert Browne had been himself on the stage. It may, nevertheless, have been the very man whose family derived the chief benefit under William Sly's will, and to whom he left 'his part of the Globe'. These words must, probably, be understood to relate to Sly's interest as a sharer; but he may have been part-owner of the theatre itself, unless, as we have supposed in our Memoir, Richard Burbage was the sole proprietor of the edifice.

RICHARD COWLEY.

WE learn from the quarto and folio editions of *Much Ado about Nothing*, that Cowley was the performer of the character of Verges, at the same time that Kemp was the representative of Dogberry: the names of the two actors are inserted in the old impressions, instead of those of the parts they sustained. This is the only existing proof as to the department of the stage to which Cowley belonged; but we are not warranted thereby in concluding, with Malone and Chalmers, that Cowley 'appears to have been an actor of a low class'. We have seen comedians of very high reputation, in our day, undertake the small character of Verges, and obtain increased fame by the admirable truth and finish of the 'forcible-feeble' performance.

Cowley must have played Verges about the year 1599, but he had then been long on the stage: he was an actor in Tarlton's *Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins*, which could not have been brought out later than 1588, and perhaps considerably earlier, but it is not possible to settle precisely what were his duties in the piece: his name occurs in nearly all parts of it, but never in such a manner as to enable us to decide what character he sustained. In the first scene we read—'A tent being plast one the stage for Henry the Sixt: he in it asleepe; to him the Leutenant, a purcevaunt, R. Cowly, Jo. Duke, and 1 Warder, R. Pallant;' and in the last—'Henry speaks to him, Lieu-

tenant, Pursevaunt and Warders, R. Cowly, J. Duke, J. Holland, Joh. Sincler; to them Warwick. Mr. Brian.'

Hence we might perhaps gather, from the corresponding location of the characters and of the actors, that Richard Cowley played Henry the Sixth, but from other parts of the same performance this seems very doubtful; and in some places he appears to have acted merely as one of the soldiers, or to have carried the colours. He probably was 'a lord' in that portion of the plot that relates to King Gorboduc and his sons; Giraldus, in the scenes where Sardanapalus figures; and it is not at all clear that he had not a female character in the story of Tereus and Philomele. The only positive facts seem to be, that Richard Cowley was an actor at the time when this drama was got up and represented, and that he was much and variously employed in it.

As he perhaps sustained the part of one of Philomele's attendant ladies, we may reasonably imagine that he was young in 1588: from whence he came we have no hint beyond an entry in the register of St. Giles, Cripplegate, that a Richard Cowley, who might be his father, was buried on the 10th January 1587. The name of Cowley was not common in that parish, but it was so in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and there we are certain that our actor lived and died. Malone and Chalmers saw the registers, and found some entries relating to him, but omitted several others, a deficiency we have supplied from a recent examination.

We have every reason to suppose that Cowley was a member of the same company as Edward Alleyn (the Lord Strange's players) in 1593; for in a letter to his wife, during a provincial expedition in consequence of the prevalence of the plague in London, dated 1st August, he mentions Cowley as having joined him at Bristol, and as having been the bearer of a letter from Mrs. Alleyn. Cowley's business in going to Bristol must have been to assist Alleyn, and the rest of the association to which he belonged, in their performances in the west of England. A part of Shoreditch was at that time called Alleyn's Rents, possibly the property of Alleyn's family; and there at one period we find Richard Cowley living: his son Cuthbert was baptised from thence on the 8th May 1597.

This entry of the baptism of Cuthbert Cowley is the earliest entry noticed by Malone and Chalmers; but there is no doubt that Richard Cowley was married before 1595, because in March 1595-6 he had a son, named Robert, christened at St. Leonard's; the memorandum runs as follows:—'1595. March 8. Baptized, Robert Cowlye, the sonne of Richard. Hallywell Street.' This shows also that he had dwelt in Holywell Street before he removed to Alleyn's Rents, but he afterwards returned to his old quarters: he lived in Holywell Street when '—— Cowley (the Christian name is omitted in the registration, but perhaps it was Robert, born in 1595) the sonne of Richard Cowly', was buried on 20th March 1597. It was just after this date that we find him in Alleyn's Rents, where he did not long continue: when 'Richard Cowlye, the sonne of Richard', was christened on 29th April 1598, the father's abode is again recorded as in Holywell Street. Presuming that the unnamed son, who died in 1597, was Robert, of whom we do not hear afterwards, Cowley had two sons living in 1598, viz., Cuthbert and Richard: the latter was buried at St. Leonard's on the 26th February 1602-3; but, as far as existing evidence goes, Cuthbert survived his parents.

Cowley and his wife (we cannot discover when nor whom he married) had also a daughter, of whom Malone and Chalmers take no notice: the entry of her baptism is this:—'1601. Feb. 2. Baptized, Elizabeth Cowlye, the daughter of Richard Cowlye. Halliwell.' She was named, as will be observed presently, after her mother, and they seem to have had no more children.

When Richard Cowley quitted the company of which Alleyn was the leader, and Henslowe the manager, we can give no information: it was some time before 1602, because in March of that year John Heminge and Richard Cowley represented the Lord Chamberlain's servants, when they received 30*l.* in payment for performances at Court. As it appears to be the only extant memorandum of the kind, in which the name of Cowley occurs, we may here quote it:—

'To John Hemynges and Richard Cowley, servauntes to the Lord Chamberleyne, upon the Councells Warrant, dated at Whitehall, 31 March 1601[2], for three playes showed before her highnes on St. Stephen's day at night, Twelfth day at night, and Shrovetuesday at night, xxx*l.*'

This distinction serves to show that Cowley was then a man at least of standing, if not of eminence in the association, which very shortly afterwards, on the accession of James I, obtained the patent as the King's players: among the names included in it, though it comes last, is that of Richard Cowley. In an enumeration of the same company, which must have been drawn up posterior to 9th April 1604, Cowley has two actors below him, Hostler (or Ostler) and Day, who perhaps had only very recently been taken as recruits into the association. When Cowley had first attached himself to the Lord Chamberlain's players, it is impossible to decide, but his name is not found to the memorial for the repair and enlargement of the Blackfriars Theatre in 1596.

Although Cowley survived for a considerable period after the grant of the patent of 1603, and remained on the stage the whole of his life, it is singular that his name does not occur in any list of the actors of the plays of Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, or other dramatists of the time; and but for the accident already explained, we should not have known that he was Verges in *Much Ado about Nothing*. His wife died before him (a fact with which previous biographers were not acquainted), for we find her burial thus registered at St. Leonard's:—'1616. Elizabeth Cowly, the wife of Richard Cowly, was buried the 28th September.—Halliwell Street.' Halliwell Street was therefore still their residence, although Cowley, like Richard Burbage and some others, during about twenty years of his life, had daily to discharge his theatrical duties at the Blackfriars, or at the Globe on the Bankside.

Chalmers tells us that Cowley was buried at St. Leonard's, Shore-ditch, 'on the 13th March 1618, three days before the great Burbage finished his career in the same cemetery'; if the 13th March had been the correct date, Cowley would have been interred on the very day Burbage expired, but the fact is that the burial of Cowley took place, not on the day stated by Chalmers, but on the day before the death of Burbage,¹ as appears by the subsequent entry in the register:—'1618. Richard Cowly, player, was buried the 12th of

¹ It deserves notice, that although the name of Richard Burbage (who died on

March.—Halliwell Street.' No will by Cowley has been discovered in the Prerogative Office after repeated searches, nor does it appear that administration of his effects was granted to any member of his family. Whether he died rich or poor can only be decided upon probabilities; but acting was then a profitable employment, and, as far as we can judge, Cowley, though by no means eminent in the profession, as a regular, careful man, may have accumulated property in the course of the thirty years that he can be traced upon the stage. His son Cuthbert and his daughter Elizabeth most likely survived their parents (for we meet with no notices of their burial), and amicably divided what he left behind him.

JOHN LOWIN.

THIS eminent performer,¹ who long survived the suppression of theatrical representations on the breaking out of the civil wars, was the son of Richard Lowin, and was born in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1576. The following entry is contained in the register, among the baptisms:—'John Lowen, the sone of Richard Lowen. 9 December 1576.' Malone correctly calculated, from the date upon Lowin's portrait in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, that he was born in that year; but neither he nor Chalmers went to the records

13^h March 1618 19) is included in the confirmation of the patent of 1603 to the King's players, dated 27th March 1619, the name of Richard Cowley (who was buried on the day preceding the death of Burbage) is not found in it.

¹ His name is spelt in four different ways: it is Lowine in the list preceding the folio of 1623; Lowen in the register of his birth, and in two of the entries in Henslowe's *Diary*; Lowyn in another memorandum in the same volume; and Lowin at the end of Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, 1603, as well as in various other places. Malone (*Inquiry*, p. 250) asserts that the name was 'never spelt Lowine'; a strange oversight, when it is so spelt in the list prefixed to the folio of 1623: he adds, that it was sometimes spelt Lewen, but this is probably a mistake, arising from Malone having confounded Dr. Lewen and his family with John Lowin, the actor. See, however, the end of the present memoir.

we have consulted, or they might have ascertained the time and place with precision. From other entries it appears that Richard Lowin, the father of our actor, was a carpenter; but there was another carpenter of the name of John Lowin in the same neighbourhood, and he may have been the brother of Richard Lowin, and the person after whom John Lowin, the actor, was baptised. We have not been able to discover any entry of the marriage of Richard Lowin, but it must have taken place before 1574, because in that year he had a daughter christened 'Susan Lowen, daughter of Richard Lowen. 25 April 1574.' Susan Lowin was of course the elder sister of our actor, who had a brother William, born in 1581, as we find by the subsequent entry in the same registers: 'William Lowen, the sonne of Richard Lowen. 28th May 1581.' We do not meet with the mention of any other children by Richard Lowin; but John Lowin, whom we suppose to have been brother to Richard, had a daughter christened on 9th November 1586. A William Lowin, who had a son Christopher baptised on 19th August 1576, is also mentioned in the registers of St. Giles, and it is not unlikely that he was a near relative of the same family, after whom William Lowin, the son of Richard, was named in 1581.

Where and how John Lowin, the actor in Shakespeare's plays, was educated we have not the slightest information, nor do we at all know in what way he became connected with the stage. Alleyn and Henslowe constructed their theatre, the Fortune, in Golden Lane, Cripplegate, in 1599: it was opened for performances soon afterwards; and the first we hear of Lowin, as a player, is in November 1602, when there is no doubt that he was in Henslowe's pay. Malone notices the last of the subsequent extracts from Henslowe's *Diary*, but he omits the two others, which perhaps he failed to discover, and which would have contributed to his purpose, by showing that Lowin was a member of the Earl of Worcester's company of players six months before the period Malone assigns to that circumstance. We give the following exactly as they stand in the original record of Henslowe's transactions.

'Pd at the apoyntment of John Lowen, the 12 of Novmbr 1602, unto Mr. Smyth, the some of xs.'

'Pd at the apoyntment of John Lowen, the 12 of Novmbr 1602, unto harey Chettell, the some of iijs.

'Lent unto John Lowyn, the 12 of March 1602, when he went into the contrey with his company to playe, in Redy mony, the some of vs.'

March 1602, was March 1602-3, according to the usual division of the year at that period, and was of course subsequent to November 1602, to which the previous memoranda refer.¹ They show that in the autumn of 1602, Henslowe advanced to Lowin, then a player in the association of the Earl of Worcester's servants, two sums of ten shillings and five shillings, that he might give them to Wentworth Smith and Henry Chettle, on account of dramas then in hand by those poets: in the spring of the following year the company broke up in London, and went from the Fortune Theatre into the country to carry on their performances. In December 1602, Lowin completed his twenty-sixth year: how long he had then been on the stage we have no authority to prove; but it seems not unnatural to suppose that the erection of the new playhouse in the parish where he was born, and probably brought up, had induced him to take to the theatre as a profession, instead of following his father's business. If so, he did not become connected with the stage until he was considerably more than of full age. The position he occupied in November 1602, as negociator, or medium, between Henslowe and dramatic authors, seems, however, to indicate that he was even then prominent in the company. Various players of much older claims were not so employed.

Not long afterwards, he became a member of the company called the King's players:² he was an actor with Shakespeare and six others in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, produced, as the poet informs us, in the year 1603, by that association: but his name is not found in the patent of May 1603, and he could hardly have been included in the general terms, there used, 'the rest of their associates'. We have no doubt that he joined the King's players between May 1603, and

¹ Henslowe's *Diary*, pp. 234, 244.

² But he kept up his intimacy with Alleyn many years after the latter had retired from the stage. Lowin not unfrequently dined with Alleyn, at his College in Dulwich, between 1619 and 1622.

the particular date, whatever it might be, when *Sejanus* was represented for the first time.¹ He is also one of the actors introduced, with Burbage and Condell, in his own person, into the induction to Marston's *Malcontent*, printed in 1604, although he has not much of the dialogue assigned to him: there is no doubt that he had a share in the performance of the body of that drama, but what share it is impossible to determine. These particulars, however, seem to establish that he was not, even then, an inferior member of the company; and we shall soon find that he became one of the principal sharers in it.

In the year 1607, Lowin appeared before the world in a new character—that of an author: it is a circumstance not hitherto pointed out, but we have it upon very conclusive evidence. The production is merely a small, *ad captandum* tract, not in itself dramatic, although on a subject connected with the stage, and it has the following title: 'Conclusions upon Dances, both of this Age and of the Olde. Newly composed and set forth by an Out-landish Doctor. London, Printed for John Orphinstrange, and are to be solde at his shop neere Holborne Bridge. 1607.' 4to. It consists of only thirteen leaves, and the main object (excepting that perhaps of raising a small temporary supply of money), was to vindicate dancing from the attacks of the Puritans, which had commenced even before the publication of Northbrooke's *Treatise*, in 1577.² The dedication is as follows:—

'To the Right Honorable Lord, my Lord Dennie.—My Lord, when I make a dedication of some writing of mine, it is not for to follow the common and ordinarie proceedings of other writers, but onely because I see such a deed to have

¹ It deserves notice, however, that when Henslowe, or some person in his employ, was making out a list of 'the King's Company', after April 1604, the name of Lowin is not included. See p. 136, and *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, p. 68. The omission, though singular, must have been merely accidental, for there can be no doubt that Ben Jonson would not have included Lowin as one of the performers in *Sejanus* if he had not acted in it. Here we have positive evidence against negative testimony.

² 'A Treatise, wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes, etc., are reproved, etc. By John Northbrooke', already frequently mentioned.

beene effected by the evangelist S. Luke, which dedicated his writings to that great man, most honorable Theophilus. The certainty wherof doth manifestlie appeare about the begin'ning of his Gospell, as also in the entrance of his other booke, commonly called *The Acts of the Apostles*. And now I dedicate these, my conclusions upon dances, to your Lordship, because I was once mooved to speake of them in your Lordship's companie: which matter I could not then handle so pertinently, in speach, as I can at this time in ink and paper. Thus in London, with my praier to God for you, my Lord, the 23 of November, 1606. Your Lordship's humble servant, I. L. *Roscio*.'

The signature, 'I. L. *Roscio*', is of course to be taken as 'I. L. *actor*', or John Lowen the player; but we do not attribute the pamphlet to him merely on the strength of these initials, but because a copy of it exists, in the library of a collector, with these words distinctly written upon the title-page, 'By Jhon Lowin. Witnesseth Tho. D. 1610.' This evidence is therefore sufficiently complete, without supposing, as we may reasonably do, that 'Tho. D' means Thomas Dekker, a distinguished dramatist for the company to which Lowin had belonged, and in whose plays he had often acted, before he joined the association of which Shakespeare was a member.

As this production, on many accounts of little worth, is of value on account of its rarity and its authorship, we shall venture to make a brief quotation from one of its later divisions, which is thus headed:—

'OF THE ORDINARIE DANCES, USED EVERIE WHERE IN THESE DAYS.

'Now that we have handled the *Dances* of the old Age, shall wee make evident in few lines what wee thinke of the *Dances* of our dayes? These *Dances* (I speake of the greater part of them) doe seeme unto our judgement to be partly vaine, and partly prophane. Vaine, because neither men nor women are able to attaine unto the knowledge and practise of the art of such *Dancing*, without vexation of the Spirit, and losse of time. Prophane, because in the old age the women *danced* to this intent, that thereby their spirituall Songes and Divine prayes should waxe more fervent, and consequently become more acceptable unto GOD: whereas, now very often, in a great many places, among the Christians themselves, not onely the women, but also the men doe *dance* to please the world. Notwithstanding, God alone is hee which seeth their heartes and intentions; and without difficultie it may be that our conjectures are not sufficiently ludicious.

'The vexation of the Spirit is so much spoken against by that wise *Salomon*, in his Booke of *Ecclesiastes*, that it is a wonderfull thing to see so many, and so

many againe, that never keepe themselves from the tearing clawes of that monster. And the losse of time might be better avoyded, if men would but note the admonition of the Apostle *S. Paul*, in the 5 Chap. of his Epi-tle to the *Ephesians*, where hee biddeth them *Redeeme the time*: when hee admonisheth them *To walk circumspectedly, not as Fooles, but as Wise, and to understand what the will of the Lord is.*

'Moreover, many of these *Dances* are so much artificiall (at the least, within our cogitations, and within the cogitations of some other persons which have also observed in the holy histories of the old Testament, the manner of *dancing* practised among the *Israelitish* women that lived in the feare of God), many of these dances (I say) are so much artificiall, that the humane minde can not be intended nor attentive to the art of *dancing* and to the prayse of God together.'

This extract is not more disappointing than the whole pamphlet, which contains no information respecting the particular dances then used on or off the stage, matters with which Lowin must have been well acquainted. Before 1606 the prevalence of the plague in London had much reduced the emoluments of actors, and we may conclude that Lowin resorted to the press, and availed himself of his popularity as an actor, for the purpose of supplying his temporary necessities.

It may appear difficult to account for the apparently sudden change in his circumstances between 1606 and 1608, had we not ascertained (a fact unknown to Malone and Chalmers) that he married in less than a year after the date of the dedication we have above inserted: the object of his choice was a widow of the name of Hall, and there is reason to believe that she must have been sufficiently well provided for by her late husband. The ceremony was performed in the church of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, a parish near to that in which Lowin and his family had, as we have shown, resided: the entry in the register is in the subsequent form:—'John Lowen and Joane Hall, widow, were married the 29 of October 1607, *p. licent. ex officio facultatum.*' The license may have been obtained in order to gratify the wealthy widow Hall; and it was by no means usual for actors to incur this additional expense. Whether they had children does not appear from any of the parish records we have been able to consult: no offspring was baptised at any of the churches in the neighbour-

hood of our theatres; and it is by no means impossible that a widow of an advanced age fell in love with our young actor, and married him, he of course being reconciled to the union by her dowry.

Nevertheless, it is quite clear that Lowin did not quit the stage in consequence of his marriage, but with the property thus acquired he appears to have become, just afterwards, a considerable sharer in the company of the King's players. About the year 1608 an estimate was made of the value of the Blackfriars Theatre, and of the interests of the different parties concerned in it; and by a document which has been preserved we find, that the receipts of the playhouse were divided into twenty shares, and that Lowin was the owner of a share and a half. The value of the share and a half is stated to be 350*l.* in money of that time, and it would ascend to not far short of 1000*l.* in money of the present day.

Although the circumstances of Lowin might be indifferent in November 1606, when he wrote his *Conclusions upon Dances*, we apprehend that he had become a sharer in the Blackfriars and Globe Theatres in 1608, in consequence of means supplied by his wife. Nevertheless, we shall see that later in life, perhaps long after the death of Mrs. Lowin (of whom we hear no more, not having been able to discover even the registration of her burial), he was put to the severest straits to obtain subsistence. Perhaps the widow's jointure at her death had gone to her first husband's relations.

Not long subsequent to his marriage he seems to have taken a house in the liberty of the Clink, Southwark, very near to the Globe Theatre, where the company to which he was attached performed from about April to October in each year. The poor-rate he was charged was at the rate of two pence per week, but many others paid only one penny per week, although Henslowe, Alleyn, Shakespeare, and a few more, contributed six pence per week, and some others three pence and four pence per week. Lowin paid as much as Francis Carter, the overseer of the liberty, so that we need not doubt that his habitation was sufficiently commodious.

The token-books at St. Saviour's, to which we have already been indebted for minute information regarding the residence of actors,

show that Lowin, in 1609, lived 'near the playhouse', although we are not told which of the several playhouses was intended : he was in the same situation in 1612, 1615, and 1616, but after that date he perhaps removed from the neighbourhood, as his name does not again occur in the token-books until 1627, when he was in 'Bradford's Rents'. From 1633 to 1642, which is the last we hear of him in Southwark, he was residing in what are called 'Mr. Brooker's Tenements'. At this period, the civil wars, and the hostility of the Puritans, had put a stop to theatrical performances.

It will be fit now to state what we know, or may be conjectured, respecting the characters Lowin sustained in plays of the time, especially in those of Shakespeare, bearing in mind, however, that he did not join the association of King James's players until after May 1603. We have already mentioned his appearance in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* in that year, and in Marston's *Malcontent* in 1604 : there is no doubt also that he appeared in 1605 in *Volpone*, in 1610 in *The Alchemist*, and in 1611 in *Catiline* : he likewise took a part in *Epicæne* ; but, of course, not when it was originally produced by the Children of the Queen's Revels. Wright, in his *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, speaks of Lowin's celebrity in these characters, adding two others, Falstaff and Melantius : old Trueman is telling Lovewit what he remembered of the stage before the silencing of the theatres in 1642, observing, 'In my time, before the wars, Lowin used to act with mighty applause Falstaff, Morose, Volpone, Mammon in *The Alchemist*, and Melantius in *The Maid's Tragedy*.' It may be concluded that he was the original Volpone and Mammon ; but he could not have been the original Morose, because *Epicæne* was brought out by a rival company, and Melantius he could only have taken after the death of Burbage : in the same way he could only have been Falstaff after the character had been relinquished by Heminge, or some older performer. The last play in which Falstaff figures is *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and it is quite certain that it was written, acted, and printed before Lowin belonged to the company by which it was originally produced.¹

¹ Roberts the player, in his *Answer to Pope*, states, that Lowin was also

Besides *The Maid's Tragedy*, in which Lowin's original part must have been Amintor, and not Melantius,² he appeared in many of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, and no doubt retained his characters as long as theatres were allowed to be kept open ; but only two of them can, we believe, be assigned to him with certainty, viz. : Aubrey in *The Bloody Brother*, and Belleur in *The Wild Goose Chase*. He was Eubulus in Massinger's *Picture*, Domitian in the same poet's *Roman Actor*, Bosola in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, both originally and on its revival, and Jacomo in Carlell's *Deserving Favourite*. These, we think, are all the characters Lowin is ascertained to have undertaken.

The earliest date at which Lowin's name is met with in any extant patent, or license to players, is 27th March 1619, when James I granted to his company a confirmation of the patent of 1603. The names there stand thus, omitting Burbage, who was recently dead—Heminge, Condell, Lowin, Tooley, Underwood, Field, etc. ; so that, at all events, our actor filled a distinguished place in the enumeration, and he still occupied it in 1625, when Charles I came to the throne, and renewed the concession made by his father : in the list of thirteen performers Lowin's name is third, preceded only by the veterans of the stage, Heminge and Condell, and followed by Taylor, Robinson, Benfield, and the rest of the association.

Lowin does not appear to have had any ostensible concern in the management of the company, until, as we suppose, Heminge and Condell quitted the stage, as actors, about 1623 : then his name is met with, associated with that of Taylor, in the accounts of the office

Henry VIII and Hamlet. Whatever may have been the fact as to the first, we are quite certain that Roberts was wrong as to the second, if he meant that Lowin was the original Hamlet. Burbage was the first Hamlet, Taylor the second, and if Lowin played the part at all, it could only be after Taylor had resigned it. Downes, in his *Roscius Anglicanus*, 1708, informs us, that Betterton was instructed how to act Henry VIII by Sir W. Davenant, 'who had it from old Mr. Lowin, that had his instructions from Shakespeare himself.' This was the authority upon which Roberts made his assertion in 1729.

² Wright tells us, that when Lowin played Melantius, Stephen Hammerton was the Amintor.—*Historia Histrionica*, 1699, 8vo.

of the Revels, as representing the King's players when they were paid for dramatic performances at Court.¹ Subsequent to the deaths of Condell in 1627, and of Heminge in 1630, it is quite clear that Taylor and Lowin, for Taylor's name sometimes comes first in the warrants, were the recognised heads of the association. Such, however, was not the case on 6th May 1629, when an order was issued for delivering from the royal wardrobe the usual quantity of cloth and velvet for the cloaks and capes of the King's players : Lowin's name precedes that of Taylor in 1634, when 220*l.* were paid to the leaders of the company for twenty-two plays acted before the King and Court. In that instance we find, what was rather extraordinary, a third name introduced into the warrant, that of Eliard Swanston, who had come into the company prior to 1624, and who about nine years afterwards incurred with Lowin the especial anger of the Master of the Revels for acting the old, uncorrected, and unpurged copy of *The Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed*. The information we possess on this subject applies to the autumn of 1633, and it was extracted by Malone from the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert : we subjoin all that relates to this period :—

'On Friday, the 19th of October 1633, I sent a warrant by a messenger of the chamber to suppress *The Tamer Tamed* to the King's players for that afternoon ; and it was obeyed, upon complaint of foul and offensive matters contained therein : they acted *The Scornful Lady* instead of it. I have entered the warrant here :—

'“These are to will and require you to forbear the acting of your play, called

¹ Alexander Gill wrote his scurrilous verses on Ben Jonson and his *Magnetic Lady* in 1632 ; and at the end of them Lowin and Taylor are thus mentioned as leaders of the stage :—

'Fall then to work in thy old age again,
Take up your trug and trowel, gentle Ben :
Let plays alone—and if thou needs will write,
And thrust thy feeble muse into the light,
Let Lowin cease, and Taylor feare to touch
The loathed stage, for thou hast made it such.'

This poem may be seen at length in Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, vi, 123 : part of it had been quoted by Langbaine in 1619, and there (p. 292) Ben Jonson's reply to Gill may also be found.

The Tamer Tamed, or the Taming of the Tamer, this afternoon, or any more till you have leave from me : and this at your peril. On Friday morning, the 18th October 1633. To Mr. Taylor, Mr. Lowin, or any of the King's players at the Blackfriars. On Saturday morning following the book was brought to me, and at my Lord Holland's request I returned it to the players the Monday morning after, purged of oaths, profaneness, and ribaldry, being the 21st of October 1633.'

On the same occasion, Sir Henry Herbert directed the following note (written upon the play sent to him) to a person of the name of Knight, who was the prompter (or, as he was also called, book-keeper, and book-holder) of the company :—

'Mr. Knight, in many things you have saved me labour; yet, where your judgment or pen failed you, I have made bold to use mine. Purge their parts, as I have the book, and I hope every hearer and player will think that I have done God good service, and the quality no wrong; who hath no greater enemies than oaths, profaneness, and public ribaldry, which for the future I do absolutely forbid to be presented unto me in any playbook, as you will answer it at your peril. 21st October 1633.'

It appears from the rest of Sir Henry Herbert's memorandum, that Lowin and Eliard Swanston were the principal offenders in the objectionable representation of *The Tamer Tamed*. What parts they had we know not, but six days after the performance had been forbidden they made their submission to the Master of the Revels, and were forgiven: the memorandum in the Office-book is in this form:— 'The 24th October 1633, Lowin and Swanston were sorry for their ill manners, and craved my pardon, which I gave them in the presence of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Benfeilde.' There is no list of actors appended to either edition of *The Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed*; but we may infer that Joseph Taylor and Robert Benfield, who were present when Lowin and Swanston 'craved the pardon' of Sir Henry Herbert, had not been concerned in the representation of it in 1633: they do not seem to have been included in the high displeasure of the Master of the Revels.¹

¹ Such had not been the case nine years before, when all the company was in disgrace for having acted a play called *The Spanish Viceroy*, without having first obtained the permission of the Master of the Revels: he required the signatures of the whole body to the following acknowledgment of their offence:—

We are aware of no other theatrical event in the life of Lowin, but the publication by him and Taylor, in 1652, of Fletcher's *Wild Goose Chase*, in which they had been the original actors of the characters of Mirabel and Belleur about the year 1621. The comedy had been lost when the folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's works was printed in 1647,¹ and it was 'retrieved' afterwards 'by a person of honour, for the public delight of all the ingenious, and the private benefit' of Lowin and Taylor, who thus raised a small sum to relieve their necessities. In their dedication 'to the honoured few lovers of dramatic poesy' they say, 'Tis not unknown to you all, how by a cruel destiny we have a long time been mute and bound, although our miseries have been sufficiently clamorous and expanded, yet, till this happy opportunity, never durst vex your open ears and hands, but this, we're confident of, will be the surest argument for your

'To Sir Henry Herbert, Kt., Master of his Ma'ties Revels. After our humble service remembered unto your good worship. Whereas not long since we acted a play called *The Spanish Viceroy*, not been licensed under your worship's hand, nor allowed of : we do confess and hereby acknowledge that we have offended, and that it is in your power to punish this offence, and are very sorry for it ; and do likewise promise hereby, that we will not act any play without your hand or substitute's hereafter, nor do anything that may prejudice the authority of your office. So, hoping that this humble submission of ours may be accepted, we have thereunto set our hands, this twentieth of December 1624.

'JOSEPH TAYLOR.	JOHN LOWEN.
'RICHARD ROBINSON.	JOHN SHANCKE.
'ELYARD SWANSTON.	JOHN RICE.
'THOMAS POLLARD.	WILL. ROWLEY.
'ROBERT BENFEILDE.	RICHARD SHARPE.'
'GEORGE BURGHT.	

If this apology were dictated by the Master of the Revels, he committed a droll oversight when made the players say, 'and that it is in your power to punish this offence, and are very sorry for it': no doubt they were sorry that the Master had the power to punish it. Earlier in 1624 the same company had even more seriously offended, by performing Middleton's *Game at Chess*, which was perhaps connected in subject, both that and *The Spanish Viceroy* relating to Gondomar and the Court.

¹ This edition purports to have been put forth by ten player-editors, and the names of Lowin and Taylor are at the head of the list.

nobleness. What an ingenious person of quality (Sir W. Raleigh), once spake of his amours, we apply to our necessities :—

“ Silence in love betrays more woe
Than words, though ne’er so witty :
The beggar that is dumb, you know,
Deserves a double pity.”

It seems likely that Lowin had invested all the money he obtained with his wife, the widow Hall, in 1607, in the theatres in which he was concerned, and, of course, by the suppression of the stage, it was all swept away and annihilated. Wright, speaking of the circumstances under which Lowin and Taylor printed *The Wild Goose Chase*, adds, ‘whatever they were before the wars, they were afterwards reduced to a necessitous condition’.¹ By the same historian of our old stage we are also informed, that ‘Lowin, in his latter days, kept an inn, the Three Pidgeons, at Brentford, where he died very old’. Malone tells us that Wright ‘was mistaken with respect to the place of Lowin’s death, for he died in London at the age of eighty-three, and was buried in the ground belonging to the parish of St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields, March 18, 1658-9.’² On the 8th of the following October, administration of the goods of John Lowin was granted to Martha Lowin, I suppose the actor’s widow’. If she were his widow, she must have been Lowin’s second wife, for his first wife’s name was Joan.

Chalmers repeats Malone’s statement regarding the death and burial of Lowin, although he would willingly have contradicted it, had he possessed the means of detecting an error; but we may point out, as a remarkable coincidence in date and name, that on 16th March 1668-9, a John Lowen (so spelt) was interred at St. Paul’s, Covent Garden, where the following registration is met with among the burials:—‘16 March 1668-9, Mr. John Lowen.’ If this could have been John Lowin, the actor in Shakespeare’s plays, he was not eighty-three, but ninety-three, at the time of his death.

¹ *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, 8vo.

² The name is spelt Lewin in the Register, a circumstance Malone omitted to mention, though no doubt Lowin was intended: ‘18 Martij 1658 and 1659. Johanes Lewin, vir.’

SAMUEL CROSSE.

WE have not been able to discover anything relating to the family, birth, or performances of this actor. The surname was common in Blackfriars and Cripplegate,¹ as well as in Shoreditch and Southwark; but neither there, nor elsewhere, have we met with any mention of a Samuel Crosse.

It may be doubted whether the Samuel Crosse, who was one of 'the principal actors' in Shakespeare's plays, were the Crosse thus mentioned, among others, by Thomas Heywood, in 1612, as before his time—

'To omit all the doctors, zanies, pantaloons, harlequins, in which the French, but especially the Italians, have been excellent, and according to the occasion offered, to do some right to our English actors, as Knell, Bentley, Mills, Wilson, Crosse, Lanam, and others; these, since I never saw them, as being before my time, I cannot (as an eye-witness of their desert) give them that applause which, no doubt, they worthily merit.'²

We know from Henslow's *Diary*³ that Heywood was connected with the stage as early as 1596, if not earlier; and it seems, therefore, improbable that he should not have seen the Crosse who acted characters drawn by Shakespeare, and whose name is therefore inserted in the list preceding the folio of 1623. There might be two performers of that name, as there were two Wilsons, both named Robert, and two Burbages, James and Richard, father and son: Cuthbert Burbage was never on the stage, that we are aware of: he was a bookseller, living in Shoreditch, but having a shop in the Exchange.

It is very clear, from the companions of Crosse in Heywood's enumeration, that he was a comedian, and probably a low comedian; but, if it were the same man who acted in the plays of our great dramatist, we have no clue to any of the parts he sustained. We

¹ John Crosse was buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, 23rd September 1569; and Catherine, daughter of John Crosse, was christened at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, 15th April 1582.

² *An Apology for Actors*, 1612, Sign. E, 2 b: Shakespeare Society's reprint, p. 43.

³ Printed for the Shakespeare Society, p. 78.

know of no other mention of, or allusion to him, in any author of the time, nor does his name occur in any extant list of the members of particular companies. Supposing that there were not two actors of the name, Samuel Crosse must have been dead before Heywood became acquainted with the stage: as to his merits, and those of the other players he speaks of, Heywood adds, 'By the reports of many judicial auditors, their performances of many parts have been so absolute, that it were a kind of sin to drown their worths in Lethe, and not commit their almost forgotten names to eternity'. This sentence, it is to be remembered, was published in 1612. No will by Samuel Crosse, nor administration to his effects, was discovered by Malone or Chalmers, and our researches have been equally fruitless.

ALEXANDER COOKE.

MALONE conjectured that the name of Saunder, which often occurs among the actors of Tarlton's *Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins*, was meant for Alexander Cooke; and he is censured by Chalmers for not having been aware that Saunder was a distinct person and a player: yet Chalmers himself fell into the same error, and concluded that Cooke had been 'the heroine of the stage even before the year 1589'. The fact is that the name of Cooke does not occur at all in the 'plat' of *The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins*, and there can be little doubt that 'Saunder' was not intended to designate him.

This circumstance gets rid of a difficulty that does not appear to have struck Malone or Chalmers, that if Cooke acted female parts as early as 1588, he still continued the representative of such characters many years afterwards, viz., in 1603, when Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* was brought out, and in 1605, when his *Volpone* was first performed: it is, to say the least of it, unlikely that the same man should be 'the heroine of the stage' in 1588 and 1605. In both the plays we have named Alexander Cooke was called upon to act; and although we

cannot assert positively, with Chalmers, that 'he acted as a woman in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* and in *The Fox*, because we have nothing much better than conjecture to support us, yet Cooke's name occupies such a place, in the list of performers at the end of each, as to make it probable that he was Agrippina in the tragedy, and Fine-madam Would-be in the comedy.¹ Our opinion is, that he had outgrown his female characters in 1610, when *The Alchemist* was first played, and in 1611, when *Catiline* was originally acted : in both these Cooke had characters, but the place his name occupies in the list supplied by the author is entirely changed : it stands fourth in *The Alchemist*, and second in *Catiline*, and not last, as in the two former instances.²

Concluding, therefore, that 'Saunder' of the plat of *The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins* was not Alexander Cooke, the first we hear of him is in October 1603, in the postscript to a letter from Mrs. Alleyn to her husband, then in the country, where she speaks of several other actors who desired to be remembered to Alleyn : among them, 'Cooke and his wife in the kindest sort' commended themselves to him. They lived in Southwark, from whence Mrs. Alleyn then wrote, and their first child was baptised there in 1605. The entry in the register at St. Saviour's specifies that the father of the boy was a player.—'1605. October 27. Frauncis Cooke, son of Alexander, a player.'

Malone and Chalmers, though they consulted these parish records,

¹ Malone, like Chalmers, is very decisive in his assertion that Alexander Cooke not only 'acted some woman's part' in *Sejanus* and *Volpone*, but that he 'performed all the principal female characters in Shakespeare's plays'. The whole that he knew, or conjectured, respecting our actor, is comprised in these two sentences, in one of which he was decidedly wrong, and in the other there is no evidence that he was right :—'From the plat of *The Seven Deadly Sins* [i.e., the second part of that dramatic performance] it appears that this actor was on the stage before 1588, and was the stage-heroine. He acted some woman's part in Jonson's *Sejanus* and in *The Fox*; and, we may presume, performed all the principal female characters in our author's plays.' (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, vol. iii, p. 211.)

² Alexander Cooke is also in the list of actors preceding Beaumont and Fletcher's *Captain*, which, had we not other evidence on the point, would establish that it was acted before February 1614.

took no notice of this and other memoranda of the same description: in all probability, they never saw them, or they would have quoted or referred to some of them, and not have supposed that 'Saunder', of 1588, was Alexander Cooke, whose eldest child was born seventeen years afterwards. The registers contain no mention of the marriage of Cooke, but it is obvious that he was married, and perhaps newly married, in October 1603, when Mrs. Alleyn wrote to her husband.

The token-books of the same parish enable us to state, that in 1604 Alexander Cooke lived in Hill's Rents; and he continued to occupy the same house in 1607, 1609, and 1610, and perhaps died in it, although these curious and minute documents are deficient, as applied to that particular district, in 1611, 1612, 1613, and 1614. Cooke, with various Christian appellations, was a very common name; and the token-book of 1605 states that William Cooke, probably no relation to Alexander, though a near neighbour, was 'in the Clink' prison, and therefore absent from his dwelling-house.

On 11th October 1607, Alexander Cooke had another daughter baptised Rebecca¹ at his parish church; and a third child, Alice, was not born until 1611, having been baptised on 3rd November of that year. These, according to the registers at St. Saviour's, were all the offspring of Alexander Cooke and his wife during the life of the father, for he was buried on the 25th February 1613-1614, and left his wife very near her time with their fourth child, which was born in March 1613-14, and was christened Alexander: the registration is in these terms, recording also that the father was dead:—'1613, March 20. Alexander Cooke, son of Alexander, a player, deceased.'² Chalmers asserts without qualification, and adducing no

¹ She was perhaps named after an aunt, who was married in 1614 to an actor of the name of Turner: the fact appears from the register of St. Saviour's: '1614, July 14, Robert Turner to Rebecca Cooke.' There were several Turners on the stage about the same time, but this was perhaps the 'Mr. Turner' mentioned by Downes (*Roscius Anglicanus*, 1708, p. 18) as having acted under Rhodes at the Cockpit, before the Restoration.

² This son was married at St. Saviour's in 1636 to Elizabeth Whiting, the union being thus recorded:—'29 April 1636. Alexander Cooke and Elizabeth Whiting.'

authority, that Alexander Cooke, the father, 'died in April 1614': this was merely a conjecture, from the fact that Cooke's will, made in January, was not proved by the widow until May 1614; but in the interval she had been brought to bed of the son with whom she was left *enceinte*. Neither Chalmers nor Malone saw the subsequent entry of the interment of Alexander Cooke, less than a month before his wife was confined:—'1613, Feb. 25. Alexander Cooke, a man, in the church.' This is the first and only instance in which Cooke's profession is not stated in the register.

Whatever were the parentage of Cooke, of which we know nothing, he was one of a numerous family: he mentions two brothers and five sisters in his will. His two brothers were named Ellis and John; and it never seems to have occurred to previous biographers, that John Cooke was, very possibly, no other than the author of a very celebrated comedy, which, in the only known early editions (one without date, and the other printed in 1614) is called, after the popular performer of the chief part in it, *Greene's Tu Quoque*.¹ Nothing is known of the origin or connections of John Cooke, who, as far as we can ascertain, left no other dramatic work behind him, but a collection of epigrams was entered in his name at Stationers' Hall in 1604. The comedy is highly laughable, was acted at Court twice in 1612,² and must have been very acceptable to the audiences at the Red Bull Theatre, where Greene was a favourite performer.³

¹ It is inserted in vol. vii of *Dodsley's Old Plays*, edit. 1825.

² The play was called *The City Gallant*, as well as *Greene's Tu Quoque*. *The City Gallant* was most likely its original title, until Greene, by acting the character of Bubble so humorously, gave it a new name.

³ Witness the following quotation from the play:—

'*Geraldine*. Why then we'll go to the Red Bull: they say Greene's a good clown.

'*Bubble*. Greene! Greene's an ass.

'*Scattergood*. Wherefore do you say so?

'*Bubble*. Indeed I ha' no reason, for they say he is as like me as ever he can look.'—*Dodsley's Old Plays*, vol. vii, p. 57, edit. 1825.

Thus we see that the practice of making actors commend, and comment upon, themselves in the course of a play is not so modern as might be imagined.

Alexander Cooke wrote his will with his own hand, although, as he states, 'sick of body' at the time it bears date, rather more than six weeks before his death. From the contents of it he seems to have been in moderate circumstances: he gave each of his two children 50*l.*, which two sums he kept in one purse in a cupboard; and to his child, then unborn, 50*l.* more, which was in the hands of his 'fellows', the members of the King's company of players, 'as his share of the stock'. These sums he entreated 'his master Heminge' (as if he had once been a theatrical apprentice to him) Henry Con-dell, and a person of the name of Francis Caper, 'to take into their hands', in order that they might be lodged in Grocers' Hall (of which company, it will be recollected, Heminge was a member), for greater security. The will is dated 3rd January 1613-14; and, as we have stated, it was proved by the widow on the 4th May 1614. It is in these terms:—

'In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoste. I, Alexander Cooke, sick of body, but in perfect minde, doe with mine owne hand write my last will and testament. First, I bequeathe my soule into the hands of God, my deer Saviour Jesus Christ, who bought it and payd for it deerly with his blood on the crosse; next, my body to the earthe, to be buried after the manner of Christian buryall.

'Item, I do give and bequeath unto my sonne Francis the some of fifty pounds, to be delivered to him at the age of one and twenty yeeres.

'Item, I doe give and bequeath unto my daughter Rebecca the some of fiftie pounds also, to be delivered to hir at the age of seventeene years, or at hir day of marriage, which it shall please God to bring firste, which somes of money are bothe in one purse in my cuberd.

'Item, I doe give and bequeathe unto the childe which my wife now goeth with, the some of fiftie pounds allso, which is in the hand of my fellowes, as my share of the stock, to be delivered, if it be a boy, at one and twenty yeres, if a girle at seaventeene, or day of maryage, as before: all whiche somes of moneyes I doe intreate my Master Hemings, Mr. Cundell, and Mr. Frances

Thomas Heywood caused the comedy to be printed in 1614, when both the author and the actor were dead: Alexander Cooke's brother John, we may believe, was dead when Alexander made his will, which adds to the possibility (we do not say probability) that John was the author of *Greene's Tu Quoque*.

Caper (for God's cause) to take into their hands, and see it saflye put into Grocers Hall, for the use and bringing up of my poor orphans.

'Item, I doe further give and bequeathe unto my daughter Rebecca the windowe cushens made of needle worke, together withe the window cloathe, court cuboard cloathe, and chimneye cloathe, being all bordered about with needle worke sutable, and greene silke fringe.

'If any of my children dye ere they come to age, my will is that the survivors shall have there parte equallye divided to the last. If all my children dye ere they come to age, my will is that my brother Ellis, or his children, shall have one halfe of all; the other halfe to be thus divided: to my five sisters, or theire children, tenn pounds apiece amongst them, my brother John's daughter other tenne pounds, the reste to my wife if she live then, if not to Ellis and his. If my brother Ellis dye ere this, and leave no childe of his body, my will is, it shall all be equally distributed amongst my sisters and the children of there bodys, only my wife's parte reserved, if she live: my wife paying all charges of my buriall, performing my will in every poynte as I have set downe, my will is she shall injoy and be my full and lawfull executrix [of] all my goods, chattels, moveables, debbts, or whatsoever is mine in all the worlde.

'This is my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have set to my hand January the third, 1613. By me, ALEX. COOKE.'

Chalmers printed the preceding document;¹ but the only fact he supplies connected with the biography of Alexander Cooke is, that Augustine Phillips left him a legacy, as one of his fellow-actors, in 1605. To some he gave 'thirty shillings in gold', viz., to Shakespeare, Condell, and Cristopher Beeston, who was his 'servant'; and to others 'twenty shillings in gold', viz., to Laurence Fletcher, Armin, Cowley, Cooke, and Tooley.

SAMUEL GILBURNE

Was 'unknown' to Malone; and but for the will of Augustine Phillips, which Malone had not seen, we should have been without a single particular regarding him. In May 1605, he was out of his time, because Phillips calls Gilburne 'my late apprentice'; and he bequeaths to him 'the sum of forty shillings, and my mouse-coloured

Apology for the Believers, p. 447.

velvet hose, and a white taffaty doublet, a black taffaty suit, my purple cloak, sword and dagger, and my base viol'. We may infer that Gilburne could play upon the instrument thus left to him by his master and instructor in the business of the stage : we may also conclude that he was a young man, not long out of his articles ; but as we never hear of him afterwards upon any other authority, he either died early, or quitted the profession. His name appears in no old list of *dramatis personæ* as a representative of one of the characters, that we are aware of ; so that, excepting what may be gathered from the fact that he was pupil to Phillips, a light comedian, we know not what branch of the profession he followed.

The name of Gilburne does not occur about the required period in the Southwark registers, but it is met with frequently in those of Shoreditch : we there find John, Thomas, William Gilburne, etc., but no Samuel Gilburne. We have looked for it also in vain in Cripplegate, Aldermanbury, and Blackfriars ; and our actor probably came from, and died in the country.

ROBERT ARMIN.

THE subsequent extract from Tarlton's *Jests* relates to the introduction of Armin to the stage : as it was published, and re-published, in the lifetime of Armin, we may perhaps place the more confidence in the general accuracy of the statement. It is headed, 'How Tarlton made Armin his adopted son, to succeed him.'

'Tarlton keeping a tavern in Gracechurch Street, he let it to another, who was indebted to Armin's master, a goldsmith in Lombard Street, yet he himself had a chamber in the same house; and this Armin, being then a wag, came often thither to demand his master's money, which he sometimes had, and sometimes had not. In the end, the man, growing poor, told the boy he had no money for his master, and he must bear with him. The man's name being Charles, Armin made this verse, writing it with chalk on a wainscoat :—

'O world ! why wilt thou lye?

Is this Charles the great? That I deny :

Indeed, Charles the great before,
But now Charles the less, being poor.¹

'Tarlton, coming into the room, reading it, and partly acquainted with the boy's humour, coming often thither for his master's money, took a piece of chalk, and wrote this rhyme by it :—

'A wag thou art ; none can prevent thee,
And thy desert shall content thee.
Let me devine.—As I am
So in time thou'lt be the same :
My adopted son therefore be,
To enjoy my clown's suit after me.

'And see how it fell out. The boy, reading this, so loved Tarlton after, that regarding him with more respect, he used to his plays, and fell in a league with his humour : and private practice brought him to present playing, and at this hour performs the same, where, at the Globe on the Bankside, men may see him.'

It has been supposed, on this authority, that Armin became Tarlton's boy or apprentice, and was instructed by him : such may have been the fact, but the book called *Tarlton's Jests* affords no evidence of it. Armin was apprentice to a goldsmith when he became acquainted with Tarlton, and all we learn is, that Tarlton prophesied that Armin should be his successor in clown's parts, and that the boy, from his personal liking for Tarlton, frequented plays in which Tarlton acted, and admired, if not acquired, his humour : afterwards Armin had an opportunity of displaying his talents at 'the Globe Theatre on the Bankside'.²

¹ Oldys, in his MS. notes upon *Langbaine*, tells us, on the supposed authority of Tarlton's *Jests*, that the tavern-keeper's name was Charles Tarlton, but this is clearly a mistake.

² Armin wanted to be considered a second Tarlton, but had not the merit of originality. Peacham, who perhaps knew both, tells this anecdote of Tarlton in a drama of his own day, but of which he does not give us the title. The scene represented a dying father in bed, taking leave of his three sons, Will, Tom, and Dick, the last represented by Tarlton :—

'*Father*.—Will, my dear boy, you have always been a good son ; I leave you all my land.

Will.—Thank you, dear Father, but I hope God will restore you to enjoy it yourself.

Tarlton, as has been repeatedly stated, died in September 1588, and how long before that date he had given encouragement to Armin we know not; but his pupil (if such indeed he were) was a mere boy: probably he was not a grown man when he lost his theatrical patron. If we suppose Armin to have been seventeen or eighteen at the death of Tarlton, he was born about 1570 or 1571, consequently an actor of considerable standing in the spring of 1603, when James I granted the patent to his players, in which the name of Armin comes last but one, preceding that of Richard Cowley.

The first edition of *Tarlton's Jests*, now known, bears date in 1611, but there were evidently earlier impressions, and the three parts into which they are divided were separately printed: Thomas Pavior had a licence to publish the *second part* of *Tarlton's Jests* on 4th August 1600; and Nash mentions them (possibly then consisting only of the *first part*) as early as 1592, in the following passage, written in answer to Gabriel Harvey, who had accused him of imitating Greene and Tarlton:—‘Wherein have I borrowed from Greene or Tarlton, that I should thanke them for all I have? Is my stile like Greene’s, or my *jeasts like Tarlton’s*?¹ Some of Tarlton’s jests had therefore been printed before Nash wrote, and it is not likely that the appearance of the book would have been delayed long after the death of the principal subject of it.

On the other hand, unless jests were interlarded afterwards, to give an air of novelty to the tract on its re-appearance, the quotation

Father.—Tom, my good lad, you, too, have been always kind and obedient: I give you all my money.

Tom.—Thank you, dear Father, but I hope God will restore you to enjoy it yourself.

Father.—As for you, Dick, with rags on your back, and hay in your shoes, I can hope nothing from you; so I leave you a shilling to buy you a halter.

Dick.—O! my dear Father: I do not want *halteration*; and I hope God will restore you to enjoy it yourself.’

The above, as Peacham gives it in narrative, was part of a play which he had seen acted.

¹ ‘Strange newes of the intercepting certaine Letters and a Convoy of Verses’, etc., 1592, 4to. This tract in the next year was called *The Apologie of Pierce Pennilesse*.—See *The Bridgewater Catalogue*, p. 211.

we have above made, respecting the youth of Armin and his subsequent celebrity, establishes that that portion of the publication did not come out, at least, until after the building of the Globe Theatre, for we are there told that private practice brought Armyn to present playing, 'and at this hour performs the same, where, *at the Globe on the Bankside*, men may see him'. It is not at all unlikely that *jest*s were added from time to time, and that an edition, printed very soon after 1588 and containing only a few, would gradually be swelled as materials came to hand: for instance, it is very easy to suppose that Armin himself may have furnished the groundwork of the anecdote relating to his early propensity for the stage. For the sake of his own popularity, Armin may have wished it to be known, that so great a favourite as Tarlton had foretold his success, even while he was only a boy. If Armin had been on the stage when Tarlton's *Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins* was represented, of course before 1588, his name would most likely have occurred in the list of the performers of that piece, but there we do not find it.

It may be doubted whether he rose to any considerable eminence, at all events at the Globe, until Kemp seceded from the company (then known as the Lord Chamberlain's servants, and afterwards as the King's players), shortly before the opening of the Fortune Theatre by Henslowe and Alleyn in 1600, or 1601. Kemp, until then, had been the Dogberry of *Much Ado about Nothing*,¹ a character from which Armin some years subsequently made a quotation,² as if it had fallen into his hands after it had been relinquished by Kemp. Such might be the case with other parts, regarding which we have no information; for it is nowhere mentioned in what plays by Shakespeare, or by any other dramatist, Armin was called upon to perform, with the exception of Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*, acted in 1610.

His name appeared early in print, supposing him to be, as he probably was, the Robert Armin who subscribed a preliminary address in prose to *A Brief Resolution of the Right Religion*, printed in 1590,

¹ See our memoir of Kemp in this vol.

² In the dedicatory epistle to his *Italian Tailor and his Boy*, of which we shall say more hereafter.

8vo. He must have written or put his name to other pieces now lost,¹ for we find him, in 1593, introduced by Gabriel Harvey, with Thomas Deloney and Philip Stubbes, as one of 'the common pamphletters of London'.² Deloney and Stubbes have left enough behind them to warrant the inclusion of them in Harvey's description;³ but the same cannot be said of Armin, and what he wrote of this kind must have perished. In 1604 we again meet with the name of Robert Armin, at the conclusion of a dedicatory letter to Gilbert Dugdale's *True Discourse of the practices of Elizabeth Caldwell, Ma. Jeffrey Bownd, Isabell Hall, widow, and George Fernely*, in order to poison a person of the name of Thomas Caldwell, in Cheshire. Gilbert Dugdale was the author of a species of pageant on the coronation of James I, called *Time Triumphant*, 1604, 4to.; and Armin acknowledges himself to have been his kinsman in the epistle prefixed to the *True Discourse*, etc., 1604, 4to., which we here reprint, as the tract is rare, and because much of the epistle relates personally to our actor. It is addressed—

¹ Verses subscribed R. A. precede Robert Tofte's *Alba, or the Month's Mind of a Melancholy Lover*, 1598. *England's Parnassus*, 1600, is dedicated to Sir Thomas Mounsoun, Knight, by R. A.; but it seems to have been generally agreed to assign that collection of 'the choicest flowers of our modern poets' to Robert Allot, who was certainly a writer of the time. Robert Armin was utterly incapable of it.

² 'He [Nash] disdaineth Thomas Delone, Philip Stubs, Robert Armin, and the common pamphletters of London.'—Pierce's *Supererogation*, 1593, 4to.

³ We need not enumerate the titles of Deloney's tracts, novels, and poems, as they may be seen in bibliographical catalogues; but we may take this opportunity of pointing out two ephemeral publications by Stubbes (the early enemy of theatrical performances, in *Anatomy of Abuses*, 1583), one of which has only been incidentally and incorrectly noticed, and the other nowhere mentioned. The first presents him with the appearance of a poet (appearance only) in a tract called '*Two Wunderfull and Rare Examples of blasphemers and swearers who were visited by the judgment of God*': it was printed in black letter by William Wright without date, and it contains a long exhortatory narrative in rhyme, subscribed Philip Stubbes. The second is a prose relation of *The intended Treasons of Doctor Parrie and his Complices*, etc., 'Imprinted at London for Henry Car', etc., also in black letter, without date, but the event fixes the period at which it must have been published.

'To the right honourable and his singular good lady, the Lady Mary Chandois, R. A. wisheth health and everlasting happiness.

'My honourable and very good lady, considering my duty to your kind ladyship, and remembering the virtues of your prepared mind, I could do no less but dedicate this strange work to your view, being both matter of moment and truth. And to the whole world it may seem strange, that a gentlewoman so well brought up in God's fear, so well married, so virtuous ever, so suddenly wrought to this act of murder, that when your ladyship doth read as well the letter as the book of her own inditing, you will the more wonder that her virtues could so aptly taste the follies of vice and villainy. But so it was; and, for the better proof that it was so, I have placed my kinsman's name to it, who was present at all her troubles, at her coming to prison, her being in prison, and her going out of prison to execution, that those gentlemen, to whom he dedicates his work, witnessed, may also be partakers in that kind, for the proof thereof, that your ladyship and the world, so satisfied, may admire the deed, and hold it as strange as it is true.

'We have many giddy-pated poets, that could have published the report with more eloquence; but truth, in plain attire, is the easier known: let fiction mask in Kendall green. It is my quality to add to the truth, truth, and not leasings to lies.

'Your good honour knows Pinck's poor heart,¹ who, in all my service to your late deceased kind lord, never savoured of flattery or fiction, and, therefore, am now the bolder to present to your virtues the view of this late truth, desiring you to so think of it, that you may be an honourable mourner of these obsequies, and you shall no more do than many more have done. So, with my tendered duty, my true ensuing story, and my ever wishing well, I do humbly commit your ladyship to the prison of heaven, wherein is perfect freedom.—Your ladyship's ever, in duty and service, ROBERT ARMIN.'

It will be recollected that it was in May, preceding the publication of this epistle, that we meet with the name of Robert Armin standing last but one in the patent of James I: and our persuasion is that, if he had not recently joined the company of the King's players in consequence of the secession of Kemp, who had attached himself to a rival association, he had somewhat suddenly risen to a station of

¹ We are nowhere informed how Armin obtained the nick-name of Pink—perhaps from his Christian name, Robert or Robin: in the same way Robert Tofte, the author of *Alba*, before mentioned, was also known as Robin Redbreast. We shall hereafter see, that Armin was called Robin by Davies of Hereford.

prominence and importance in the association, by being called upon to perform characters which Kemp had necessarily relinquished—among these Dogberry.

Armin was certainly at one period a member of a company acting under the name and patronage of Lord Chandos; and it will be observed that the letter above quoted is addressed to his lordship's widow, and that Armin talks in it of his services to the late peer. In his *Nest of Ninnies*, of which we shall speak further presently, he introduces some anecdotes relating to the performances of the players of Lord Chandos, and to an idiot called Jack Miller, who was very fond of the clown of the association (probably Armin himself) whom he nicknamed Grumball. Armin does not give the date of these transactions, but it must have been before 1602, because William Bruges, Baron Chandos, died in that year. Armin perhaps quitted that body of actors about 1598, in order to unite himself to the players of the Lord Chamberlain; and it is very evident, from the manner in which, in the same tract, he relates certain incidents which happened to the fool of James VI of Scotland, that he had been in that country, and an eye-witness of what he narrates. This was probably in the year 1599 or 1600, when a detachment of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, under Laurence Fletcher, was performing north of the Tweed, to the great satisfaction of the king.

Whether Kemp returned to his old parts, when he returned to his old quarters at the Blackfriars and Globe Theatres, we cannot state; but it is quite certain that anterior to 1605 he and Armin were acting together in the same company. This fact is established by the complaint of the Corporation to the Privy Council, especially directed against Kemp and Armin by name, for bringing upon the stage 'one or more of the worshipfull aldermen of the city of London, to their great scandal, and the lessening of their authority.'

This is the last we hear of Kemp, who probably died soon afterwards; but Armin survived him several years, though, as far as we can judge, not in very flourishing circumstances. Augustine Phillips, who died in 1605, left Armin a legacy of twenty shillings, as one of his fellow-sharers and actors; but Armin had disposed of his interest,

whatever it might be, when a value was put upon the Blackfriars Theatre in the year 1608 or 1609, for his name does not occur among those who were in any way concerned; and as Joseph Taylor was then the owner of a share and a half, it is not at all impossible that he came into the property by purchase from Armin.

About this date he seems to have resumed his occupation as, what Gabriel Harvey had termed him in 1593, 'a common pamphletter'; for in 1608 came out, in 4to., a work, the title of which has been before introduced, *A Nest of Ninnies, simply of themselves without Compounds*. We may pretty safely conclude that poverty had compelled Armin to sell his property as a sharer in the company of the King's players, although he continued one of the association, and that he now sought to relieve some temporary necessities by the publication of tracts, which he hoped would be popular.

Nevertheless, he called himself 'servant to the King's most excellent Majesty', when he printed a play in the next year, under the title of *The Two Maids of More Clacke, with the Life and simple Manner of John in the Hospital*; but, though he still belonged to the company acting at the Globe and Blackfriars Theatres, it is rather singular that his drama was brought out by 'the Children of the King's Majesty's Revels'. The fact that he had not quitted the association of which he had so long been a member is evidenced by Ben Jonson, who, as already noticed, enumerates Armin among 'the principal actors' in his *Alchemist*, which, he tells us, was played by 'the King's Majesty's servants' in 1610. Armin preserved the same designation of 'servant to the King's most excellent Majesty', when he published his next tract, *The Italian Tailor and his Boy*, which came out in 1609, which he admitted to be a translation, and which, in fact, forms Novel v. Night 8, of the *Notti Piacevoli* of Straparola.¹ In the introductory matter to this small work he refers to the deadly offence

¹ In Armin's 'Prologue to the Storie' we read as follows :—

'I thus destribute to all eyes
What I of late have red :
Though faigned, yet they are no lyes
But fancies better bred :

which his *Nest of Ninnies* had given in some quarters: 'Not long since (he says) I discovered a nest of ninnies in this great womb of the world, and some of the old brood before scorned at this new birth: it was but to show their antiquity, and who was the neatest ninny of all the nest. One, forsooth, would kill the author; and why? because of the dedication'. As the dedication to the members of the two Universities and Inns of Court has come down to us, it is difficult to imagine how any person could have taken it amiss, but there are in it some allusions, not now intelligible, which might then have been well understood.

The most remarkable passage in the preliminary matter to *The Italian Tailor and his Boy* is contained in the epistle to Lord and Lady Haddington, where Armin refers to his poverty, and makes such a reference to Dogberry as seems to render it probable that he succeeded to the character after Kemp resigned it on retiring from the Lord Chamberlain's players, and joining those of the Lord Admiral: Armin's words are, 'Pardon, I pray you, the boldness of a beggar, who hath been *writ down an ass* in his time, and pleads under *forma pauperis* in it still, *notwithstanding his constableness* and office'. Kemp was certainly dead when this was written, and Armin may possibly not have performed Dogberry until after that event; but our notion is, that the character devolved into Armin's hands when Kemp abandoned the Globe, and went to act under Alleyn at the Fortune.

And yet the subject of discent,
 As many worthies bee,
 Begun of nothing, till content
 Breed to maturitie.
 The Italian poet in discourse
 Sets down a homely toy,
 In singular donne, prose not verse,
 A taylor and his boy;
 Who in contention shewde the earth
 What art exceeded in,
 For nothing but an howers mirth;
 And thus doth he begin.'

John Davies, of Hereford, published his undated *Scourge of Folly* about 1611: it was certainly after 1609, because the printed edition of Lord Brooke's *Mustapha* of that year is mentioned in it. Among other 'epigrams' to 'worthy persons', such as Thomas Bastard, Sir John Harington, Samuel Daniel, Ben Jonson, etc., Davies devotes an especially long one to 'Robin Armin', to whose private character, as well as to his public excellence, it bears testimony. It is clever, and is thus humorously headed:—

*'To honest, gamesome Robin Armin,
That tickles the spleen like an harmless vermin.*

'Armin, what shall I say of thee, but this,
Thou art a fool and knave? Both? Fie! I miss,
And wrong thee much; sith thou, indeed, art neither,
Although in show thou playest both together.
We all (that's kings and all) but players are
Upon this earthly stage, and should have care
To play our parts so properly, that we
May at the end gain an *applaudite*.
But most men over-act, mis-act, or miss
The action which to them peculiar is;
And the more high the part is which they play,
The more they miss in what they do or say:
So that, when off the stage by death they wend,
Men rather hiss at them, than them commend.
But, honest Robin, thou with harmless mirth
Dost please the world, and so enjoy'st the earth
That others but possess with care that stings;
So mak'st thy life more happy far than kings.
And so much more our love should thee embrace,
Sith thou still liv'st with some that die to grace,
And yet art honest, in despite of lets,
Which earns more praise than forced goodness gets.
So play thy part; be honest still with mirth:
Then, when th' art in the 'tiring-house of earth,
Thou being his servant whom all kings do serve,
Mayst for thy part well play'd like praise deserve;
For in that 'tiring-house when either be
Y' are one man's men, and equal in degree.

So thou in sport the happiest men do school
To do as thou dost—wisely play the fool.¹

We may presume, therefore, that Armin continued, not only alive, but on the stage in 1611. If he were not dead in 1615, it is singular that, as he had done in his other works, he did not put his name at length on the title-page of a play then printed, called *The Valiant Welshman*: it purports to have been written by R. A., and possibly the publisher intended it to be inferred that it was by Armin, although nothing is said regarding him and his authorship. In Henslowe's *Diary* are found three notices of plays in which Welshmen were concerned; and one of these may have been *The Valiant Welshman*, an early work by Armin, if indeed he had anything to do with it. We first hear of *The Welshman* in Henslowe's *Diary* in November 1595; of a drama by Drayton and Chettle, in which the part of a Welshman was inserted in March 1598; and of *The Welshman's Prize*, as one of the stock-pieces belonging to Henslowe's company, very shortly afterwards.

We know not where nor when Armin was buried, for his name is not found in any of the parish registers we have been able to examine, nor does it occur in any of the token-books of Southwark. We are utterly destitute of information whether he had been married, or whether he left behind him any family. His will was sought in vain by Chalmers, and our more recent inquiries have not led to the discovery of it; nor is it known that letters of administration were taken out for such effects as he may have left behind him. Had he died in any of the parishes in or near which our old theatres were situated, his burial would probably have been registered there, and we should have met with the record of it.

¹ In his *Wit's Pilgrimage*, Sign. P, 4, Davies inserts an epitaph upon a jester, or 'professed fool', of the name of Meece, of whom we hear on no other authority. It does not appear elsewhere that Meece was an actor, although Davies says of him,

'Then, never Foole on this world's reeling stage
Plaid his part better, 'till forescore of age.'

WILLIAM OSTLER.

HE was one of 'The Children of the Queen's Chapel' in 1601, when he played with Field, Pavy, Underwood, and others, in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*: as he had had no part in the same dramatist's *Cynthia's Revels*, in 1600, represented by the same juvenile company, we may infer, perhaps, that in 1601 he had been recently taken into the association.

Anterior to April 1604, he seems to have been drafted into his Majesty's players, possibly as a young man to sustain female characters: his name is spelt Hostler in a list of 'the King's company' at that date, and no Christian name is given; but doubtless it was the same performer, as there were not two Ostlers on the stage at the same time. He had nothing to do in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* in 1603; at least, he is not mentioned by the author at the end of the play in the folio of 1616: the earliest date at which his name appears, on the authority of Ben Jonson, as one of 'the King's Majesty's servants', is 1610, when Ostler is introduced as a 'principal comedian' in *The Alchemist*. In the next year he had a part in *Catiline*, most probably a male one; but when Malone asserts positively that it was so, he does it without more evidence than is to be derived from Ostler's place in the author's list of the chief actors.

Before this time Ostler must have been an applauded and popular performer, or Davies of Hereford would not have addressed him in his *Scourge of Folly* (printed about 1611) as 'the Roscius of these times'. Davies was, no doubt, acquainted with him, and in all theatrical eulogies, considerable allowance must be made for the partiality of friendship. The lines by Davies were referred to by Malone, but have not been quoted anywhere, and to us we own that they are not by any means intelligible: however, we subjoin them literally, in the hope that the reader will make more sense out of them than we can: they read very equivocally:—

'TO THE ROSCIUS OF THESE TIMES, MR. W. OSTLER.

'Ostler, thou took'st a knock thou wouldst have giv'n,

Neere sent thee to thy latest home: but, O!

Where was thine action, when thy crown was riv'n,

Sole King of Actors? then wast idle? No:

Thou hadst it, for thou wouldst bee doing. Thus
 Good actors' deeds are oft most dangerous ;
 But if thou plaist thy dying part as well
 As thy stage parts, thou hast no part in hell.¹

Hence we might gather that an assault had been committed upon Ostler, and that he brought an action against his assailant. The 'epigram', for such it is called, was perhaps well understood at the time, but Davies seems now and then to have prided himself on being obscure.

Ostler was married before 1612, but where and to whom we have not been able to discover.² He had a son christened at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, in the spring of 1612, and he named it Beaumont, probably after the dramatic poet, who may have stood godfather to it. The entry in the register is in these terms, and it was not usual there to specify the occupation of the parent:—'Baptised 18 May, 1612. Beaumont, the sonne of William Ostler.'³ It is to be remarked that Ostler was an actor in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Captain, Bonduca, Valentinian*, and no doubt in other plays, though his name be not found at the bottom of the *dramatis personæ* in the folios. We suspect that he had no more children, and we find no trace of any in the registers of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, or of the adjoining parishes.⁴ The name of Ostler, or Hostler, was known in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and St. Botolph's, Bishopgate, but not in any instance with the Christian name of William prefixed. 'Margaret, the wife of John Ostler', was buried at St. Leonard's, from Holywell

¹ It is found in '*The Scourge of Folly*. Consisting of Satyricall Epigrams, etc. At London, printed by E. A., for Richard Redmer, sould at his shop at the west gate of Paules.' n. d.

² A John Ostler and Margaret Dickinson were married on 15th Feb. 1612, at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, but we have no means of tracing any relationship, beyond the name.

³ This memorandum escaped Malone and Chalmers, when making their searches respecting the families of Heminge and Condell.

⁴ The Joan Osteler who was buried at St. Botolph on 14 July 1603, was a grown woman, as her age is inserted in the margin of the register. Robert, the son of Vincent Ostler, was baptised on 30 July 1603.

Street, where so many actors resided, in 1622; but she could hardly have been the widow of the John Ostler who was interred at St. Botolph's as early as 1574.

It is quite certain that Ostler was lost to the stage before 1623, although Malone hastily concluded that he was still an actor in that year—'He acted Antonio in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, in 1623.'¹ The evidence referred to proves precisely the contrary: the tragedy was printed in 1623, as it had been revived the year before, having been originally produced about 1616.² To the printed copy is prefixed a very unusual list of the original actors in the several parts, and of those who had been substituted and sustained them on the revival: thus in the case of Ostler we read:—'Antonio Bologna, Steward of the household to the Duchess—I. W. Ostler; 2. R. Benfield.' The meaning being, that in the first instance, when the tragedy was brought out about 1616, Ostler was Antonio, but that when it was revived, perhaps in 1622 (Ostler being dead, or having retired from the stage), the character had been assigned to R. Benfield. In our memoir of Condell we have stated, as one of our reasons for thinking that he had withdrawn from the more public duties of the profession in 1623, that he had relinquished the character of the Cardinal, in the *Duchess of Malfi*, to R. Robinson. On the same grounds we conclude that Ostler was at this date lost to the stage, either by death or retirement, for afterwards we never hear of him in connexion with the King's players, or any other company. We have not been able to discover the registration of the death of Ostler in the parishes in which our old actors commonly resided: perhaps he came from the country, and before his death retired to the country.

¹ Malone's *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 213. Chalmers falls precisely into the same error as Malone, whom he copies almost verbally in other respects. *Suppl. Apology*, p. 170.

² This is Malone's own date, and probably the correct one, though not for the reason he assigns. See note on *Timon of Athens*, act iii, scene 3. The only certain point at which we can arrive is that *The Duchess of Malfi* was originally acted before the death of Burbage, in March 1619, because he had the part of Ferdinand in it, which in 1623 was in the hands of Joseph Taylor.

NATHANIEL FIELD.

IT is a new fact in the history of Nathaniel (or, as it is sometimes written, Nathan) Field,¹ that although a distinguished player, second perhaps only to Burbage, and a 'principal actor' in Shakespeare's dramas, he was the son of a puritanical preacher of much popularity, and one of the earliest as well as one of the bitterest enemies of theatrical performances. Malone and Chalmers, by their brief notices, appear to have known nothing of Field until the year 1600, when he sustained a part in *Cynthia's Revels*,² but we are able to trace his history from his birth to his death, and we are also in a condition to show, for the first time, that he was married, and had a family.

He was born in the year 1587, in the parish of St. Giles, without Cripplegate, as the following extract from the register establishes :— 'Christened : Nathan Felde, sonne of John Felde, preacher, 17 October 1587.' There is, as we have stated, a question, whether his real name were Nathan, as it stands in the register, or Nathaniel ; and it is quite certain that his father, on 13th June 1581, had a son, christened Nathaniel, who died before 1587 ; and we take it, that this second boy was named in memory of the first, and that the entry, therefore, ought to have been not 'Nathan', but Nathaniel.³ Our actor must have been, at least, John Field's seventh child : 'Dorcas Field, daughter of John Field, minister', was baptised 7th May 1570 ; 'John Field, the son of John Field, minister', was baptised

¹ For the satisfaction of those who may think it of importance to know how names were spelt of old, it may be observed that Field went through the following varieties of orthography—Feld, Felde, Feild, Field, Feilde, Feelde, and Fielde : it is found in nearly all these forms in the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

² Malone (*Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 213), tells us that *Cynthia's Revels* was originally performed in 1601, but this is an error : Ben Jonson himself asserts that it was 'first acted in the year 1600'.

³ During his career, he seems to have been indifferently called Nathan and Nathaniel : he was baptised Nathan, and buried Nathaniel, as will be seen at the close of our memoir. His familiar appellation was Nat. Field, and so he subscribes a note to P. Henslowe, of which we shall speak hereafter.

4th January 1572; 'Theophilus Field, son of John Field', was baptised 22nd January 1574; 'Jonathan Field, son of John Field, minister', was baptised 13th May 1577; 'Nathaniel Field, son of John Field, preacher', was baptised, as we have stated, 13th June 1581; and 'Elizabeth Field, daughter of John Field, clerk', was baptised 2nd February 1583.¹ He seems to have had no increase of his family from that date until the birth of the subject of our memoir; and he did not live to witness the evil course his youngest son was destined to run: the Rev. John Field died in the spring of 1587-8, and was buried at his parish church, with the subsequent registration:— 'John Fielde, preacher, was buried the 26th March 1587.' It was he who, in November 1581, had written a letter to the Earl of Leicester, preserved among the *Cottonian MSS.* in the British Museum,² reviling him for having interfered 'in the behalf of evil men, *as of late you did for players*, to the great grief of all the godly', and adjuring him not to encourage 'those wickednesses and abuses that are wont to be nourished by those impure interludes and plays'. This seems to have been a private communication to the Earl; but two years afterwards this zealous 'minister', 'clerk', and 'preacher', as he is termed in the registers, took advantage of a fatal accident that happened at Paris Garden (not yet a theatre, but a place for the baiting of bears, bulls, and other animals) to publish a violent and virulent attack upon all theatrical performances.³

Nathan, Nathaniel, or Nat. Field, as we shall show ere long, was a

¹ She died and was buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, on the 14th June 1603, as appears by the register. Her sister Dorcas was married to Edward Ryce (as we learn from the Cripplegate records) on the 9th November 1590.

² *Titus*, B. vii, fol. 2.

³ Under the following title: 'A Godly exhortation by occasion of the late judgement of God shewed at Parris-garden, the thirteenth day of Januarie: where were assembled, by estimation, above a thousand persons, whereof some were slaine, and of that number at the least, as is credibly reported, the thirde person maimed and hurt. Given to all estates for their instruction, concerning the keeping of the Sabboth day. By John Field, Minister of the word of God. Published by Authoritie. At London Printed by Robert Waldegrave, dwelling without Temple-barre, for Henry Carre, in Paule's Churchyard. 1583.' 8vo.

man of very considerable talents as an author, besides being one of the most celebrated actors of his day. Where and by whom he was educated it is impossible to state : he seems to have had some pretensions to scholarship ; but, if he went to school, he must have been taken or diverted from it early, for he was not more than about thirteen when we first hear of him on the stage : he was then, as we have mentioned, an actor in Ben Jonson's 'comical satire', as one of the performers of the juvenile company called 'the Children of the Queen's Chapel'. It is not at all unlikely that attention was paid, under public authority, to the education of these boy-players, selected and retained for her Majesty's amusement : even at that day it could hardly have been thought that a boy of thirteen was sufficiently informed for any profession, and, in the intervals of the public and private exhibitions, instruction was given to the theatrical children. Field was a favourite with Ben Jonson ; and that great and learned poet may, for aught we know, have interested himself in the education of a youth of so much promise, and to whose exertions he was subsequently much indebted.

As in the case of Lowin, at a more mature period of life, so in the case of Field, who was about eleven years younger, the establishment and opening of a new playhouse in the parish in which they were born may have had a powerful influence on their minds, and to this fact may possibly be attributed their subsequent connection with the stage. Samuel Daniel, the poet, was appointed, very early in the reign of James I, to inspect and approve the productions to be represented by the Children of the Queen's Revels (as the Children of the Chapel were then called), and the company was under the control and management of persons of the names of Kirkham, Hawkins, Kendall, and Payne. We only know of what members this juvenile association consisted, in 1600, from Ben Jonson, who gives the following list of six 'principal comedians' concerned in acting his *Cynthia's Revels* in that year—'Nat. Field, Sal. Pavy, Tho. Day, Joh. Underwood, Rob. Baxter, and Joh. Frost.'

We are entitled, perhaps, to assume, from the place his name occupies, that Field was then the leading actor of the company ; and

in the next year, when they represented the same dramatist's *Poetaster*, he held the same position : three of his coadjutors had played with him in *Cynthia's Revels* ; but instead of Baxter and Frost, William Ostler and Thomas Marton were substituted in the performance of *The Poetaster*.

The next we hear of Field is as the representative of the arduous character of Bussy d'Ambois, in Chapman's popular tragedy of that name : it was printed in 1607, and may have been first performed in the preceding year.¹ To Field's personation of this hero we shall have occasion to recur, but we are entirely ignorant who were his then associates. When Ben Jonson's *Epicæne* was brought out 'by the Children of her Majesty's Revels' in 1609, excepting that of Field, we do not meet, in the list furnished by the author, with a single name that had before occurred as actors in his dramas : the 'principal comedians' were then these—Nat. Field, Gil. Carie, Hug. Attawel, Joh. Smith, Will. Barksted, Will. Pen, Ric. Allen, and Joh. Blaney. Ostler and Day had joined the King's players in 1604 : Underwood afterwards took the same course (we know that he had done so before 1610), and others of Field's early 'fellows' had either quitted the stage, from having outgrown their youthful characters, had joined other companies, or had died.

It is very clear that Field had not become one of the King's players in 1611, or his name must assuredly have been found among the ten 'principal tragedians' in Ben Jonson's *Catiline*, brought out in that year : and we apprehend, for reasons we shall assign presently, that he did not permanently belong to that company until some five years afterwards.

We have already stated that Field, like many other actors of his

¹ Chalmers, in his *Suppl. Apology*, p. 171, says, 'In 1607 Field acted the part of Bussy d'Ambois in Chapman's drama'; but that was the year in which the play was printed, not when it was first acted. If we fix the production of the play in 1606, we take the latest date that can with any probability be assigned to it : it seldom happened that a play was printed so soon as a year after it was brought out at a theatre. *Bussy d'Ambois* was entered for publication in the Stationers' Company's books on 3rd June 1607.

time, became an author, and his first play, *A Woman is a Weathercock*, must have been represented about 1610: it was printed in 1612, and it purports, on the title-page, to have been 'acted before the King at Whitehall, and divers times privately at the Whitefriars by the Children of her Majesty's Revels'. Of this company we have no doubt Field still remained a member, notwithstanding he was then in his twenty-third year. According to his portrait, preserved at Dulwich, and not long since engraved, he had a peculiarly smooth and feminine look, with no whiskers, and on this account he may not have been disqualified, as soon as many others, for acting with his juniors: it is to be recollected also, that theatrical 'children' often continued to be so called after they had reached maturity: even full-grown recruits seem sometimes to have been added to their numbers, who were also designated 'children'. It is most likely that Field took a character in his own *Woman is a Weathercock*, as well as in his *Amends for Ladies* (acted about 1612, and printed in 1618 and 1639), of which we shall shortly have more to say. The first was performed at the private theatre in the Whitefriars, which the company of the Children of the Queen's Revels then occupied; but the second was brought out at the Blackfriars Theatre, at the time when it was employed by the actors of Prince Henry and of the Princess Elizabeth, as well as by the King's players. While the King's players, during the summer, were performing at the Globe, they seem, on certain terms, now and then to have allowed other associations to use their Blackfriars Theatre.

Ben Jonson's tribute to Field, in 1614, as 'the Burbage of his company' (the Princess Elizabeth's servants) we have already quoted. In R. Flecknoe's *Short Discourse of the English Stage*, printed at the end of his *Love's Kingdom*, in 1664, the names of Burbage and Field are coupled, as if of equal merit and celebrity, the name of the younger actor having, in fact, precedence:—'In this time', says Flecknoe, 'were poets and actors in their greatest flourish; Jonson and Shakespeare, with Beaumont and Fletcher, their poets, and Field and Burbage, their actors.' In a subsequent part of the same tract, he again mentions them, and in the same order.

Malone states that Field performed female parts at the Globe and Blackfriars, after he had joined the King's players ; and he adds, 'when he became too manly to act the characters of women, he played the part of Bussy d'Ambois';¹ but Bussy d'Ambois, as we have already mentioned, was played by Field before 1607, when the tragedy was printed, and while he was one of the Children of the Revels to Queen Anne ; so that, according to Malone, Field was then disqualified from sustaining female characters. He certainly did not become, for any continuance, one of the servants of King James until after 1614, when, as we have seen, he was a member of the company playing under the patronage of the Princess Elizabeth, and about twenty-seven years old : we may reasonably doubt, therefore, whether he ever acted any of the more delicate female characters in the works of our great dramatist : if he were manly enough for Bussy d'Ambois before 1607, he would be too manly for Juliet, Desdemona, or Imogen, in 1615, although, of course, some women's parts could be pointed out in Shakespeare's plays that would admit of a more masculine representative.

Field could not have belonged permanently to the King's players until after the production of Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* : in 1613 he seems to have joined them for a very short time ; but our belief is that a lasting change of his associates did not take place until three or four years anterior to the death of Burbage, in March 1619 : consequently, Field never played originally in any of Shakespeare's dramas, but we find him assisting Burbage in the representation of several by Beaumont and Fletcher, such as *The Knight of Malta*, *The Queen of Corinth*, *The Loyal Subject*, *The Mad Lover*, etc.

The players of the Princess Elizabeth, some time after her marriage, became the dramatic servants of the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, under the management of Henslowe and Alleyn. Among the papers of the latter, yet preserved at Dulwich College, are various scraps of notes which passed between Henslowe and the authors or actors in his pay and employ : these are generally dated in 1613 and 1614, and among them are three in which Field was importantly con-

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 213.

cerned : they are unluckily all without date, but they refer to circumstances and transactions which sufficiently show that they belong to the period we have named. One of these, printed precisely as it stands in Field's autograph, will be found in the *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, printed by the Shakespeare Society, and two others, also accurately given from the originals, are inserted in *The Alleyn Papers*, also published by the Shakespeare Society. The first of these relates to the pecuniary distresses of Field, Massinger, and Daborne, who were then writing in conjunction a play for Henslowe's company, of whom Field was probably then one : the second proves that Field and Daborne were engaged upon another play, and desired to have 10*l.* of the purchase-money in hand ; and the third, from Field only, urges a loan of 10*l.*, in order that he might be freed from arrest, and continue his performances : in this letter, Field speaks of himself as a sharer in the receipts, a then not unusual mode of paying actors ; and as he was a performer of so much distinction, and as theatrical affairs were then prosperous, the correspondence seems to establish that Field must have been very improvident, or with such resources he could not have been in poverty. These documents conclusively show that in 1614 Field was certainly not a member of the company of the King's players.

To the same effect we may notice another instrument, printed for the first time in the *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, being the copy of an agreement between Henslowe and Jacob Meade (who in 1614, at the latest, had fitted up a stage at Paris Garden, so that it might be used either as a place for baiting bears, etc., or for the representation of plays), and Field, who seems in some respects to have represented, and acted on behalf of, the rest of the company. Henslowe and Meade then wished to raise a separate body of actors for their new undertaking, and with this object they resorted, as far as we can judge, to Field, as an influential performer, and entered into certain conditions with him, which it is needless here to repeat. One important clause, however, is, that the agreement should remain in force for three years;¹ and supposing it to have been entered into in

¹ During this interval (the precise dates are not very clearly ascertainable) Hen-

1614, in contemplation of the immediate opening of Paris Garden, for the double purpose we have described, and supposing it to have been adhered to by the parties, Field would not be disengaged, so as to be able to join the King's players, until 1617. On 11th June 1615, he had a warrant for himself and his fellows for 10*l.* for performing *Bartholomew Fair* before the King on November 1st, the very day after it had been produced at the Hope theatre, according to the testimony of the author himself in the Induction. This is decisive evidence that Field remained a member of a rival company in the summer of 1615. We apprehend that he did not enter into a formal and permanent engagement with Burbage, Heminge, Condell, and the rest of that company, until after 1616.

We have seen that in 1613 and 1614, as well as the dates can be ascertained from intrinsic circumstances, Field was much in want of money; but, if we may take his word for it, such does not seem to have been the case in 1612, when he printed his play, *Woman is a Weathercock*. It was usual at that date for authors to procure sums for dedications; but Field, instead of inscribing it to any individual, who might have rewarded him for the distinction, addressed it 'to any Woman that hath been no Weathercock', and boastingly asserted that he did so, 'because forty shillings I care not for'. Whatever might be his circumstances in 1612, he had good reason, in 1613 and 1614, to care for even a smaller sum than forty shillings; and we need not doubt that his thoughtlessness and extravagance kept him poor, in spite of the income he was able to earn as an actor, besides the additions he could make to it as an author. When *Woman is a Weathercock* was printed, it was preceded by commendatory

slowe had differences with his company, and various grounds of complaint were drawn up by some of the members, which were formerly preserved at Dulwich College. It appears that Field was not a party to them, as Henslowe thought it worth while to satisfy his claims, if not those of Taylor and another actor of the name of Baxter. It seems that Field would not consent to the sacrifice of his share of 50*l.* due from Henslowe to the company, in consequence of which he satisfied Field, but left the rest of his associates to their remedy. The consequence must have been a temporary interruption of dramatic performances at Paris Garden.

verses by Chapman, who had been bound to Field for his excellent and popular performance of *Bussy d'Ambois*, and leading characters in other plays, and who affectionately terms him 'his loved son'. It was common at that period for elder poets to allow younger men to address them as 'father': such was the poetical relationship between Ben Jonson, Thomas Randolph, and James Howell; and Field even writes to old Henslowe (who was certainly no poet), as his father, and subscribes two out of his existing epistles 'your loving son'.

Although *Woman is a Weathercock* was Field's earliest play, it was not his earliest composition. Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* was brought out not later than 1610, and printed without date some years afterwards: it was preceded by four copies of commendatory verses, the first in order, and not the last in merit, being six stanzas by Field. They are subscribed only N. F. in the earliest quarto (a trifling particular with which the Rev. Mr. Dyce does not appear to have been acquainted¹), but when they were reprinted, 'Nat. Field' is found appended to them. There can be no doubt that he was on the most intimate and friendly terms with the dramatic poets of his day; and it may be conjectured, that it was soon after he had displayed his own capabilities as a writer of plays, that he joined Massinger in the composition of *The Fatal Dowry*. Gifford, as has been remarked, 'with that zeal for the author under his hands that always distinguished him', would undervalue Field's contributions to this play, and attribute to him all the parts he considered inferior to Massinger; but the two pieces which have come down to us, in which Field was unassisted, show that he was possessed of no small skill as a dramatist, and of no ordinary powers as a poet.

Amends for Ladies is even superior to *Woman is a Weathercock*, to which it may be said to form a kind of sequel; but it is not our business here to enter into any criticism upon them, to compare them with each other, or with contemporaneous productions for the stage.

¹ *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ii, p. 7.

² See note to the introduction to *Woman is a Weathercock*, printed with four other dramas in a supplementary volume to *Dodsley's Old Plays*, in 1829. One of the four other dramas is Field's *Amends for Ladies*.

Amends for Ladies, in which the writer endeavoured to compensate for the satirical attack upon the female sex in his earlier comedy, was, as we have already stated, not published until 1618, but that it was in being, and had probably been acted, before 1612, we have the author's own evidence in the preliminary matter to his *Woman is a Weathercock*, where he tells 'any Woman that hath been no Weathercock' that, 'if she have been constant, and be so, all I will expect from her for my pains is, that she will continue so but *till my next play be printed*, wherein she shall see *what amends I have made to her and all the sex*'. There is an authority which may throw back the composition of *Amends for Ladies* to 1609 or 1610, and consequently *Woman is a Weathercock* to even an earlier date.¹ We allude to a passage in Anthony Stafford's *Admonition to a discontented Romanist*, in his *Niobe dissolved into a Nilus*, 1611, 12mo., where he says, in apparent allusion to the title of Field's second play, 'No, no, sir: I will never write an *Amends for Women*, till I see women amended'.

From his portrait, and from other circumstances, we may judge that he was what the ladies, in the time of Wycherley and later, would have called 'a pretty fellow'; and he was probably a considerable favourite with the fair sex. In a MS. in the Ashmolean Museum, and in other common-place books of the reign of James I and Charles I, we meet with the following punning epigram, which evidently relates to some undue familiarity between Field and a lady, who is there called 'the Lady May', but respecting whom we have no farther information: it is entitled as if Field had been the writer of the lines, but they contradict the supposition.

'FIELD, THE PLAYER, ON HIS MISTRESS, THE LADY MAY.

'It is the fair and merry month of May,
That clothes the Field in all his rich array,
Adorning him with colours better dyed
Than any king can wear, or any bride.

¹ In his address 'to the reader', before his *Woman is a Weathercock*, Field uses this expression—'I send you a comedy here as good as I could *then* make'; as if it had been written some time before.

But May is almost spent, the Field grows dun
 With too much gazing on that May's hot sun ;
 And if mild Zephyrus, with gentle wind,
 Vouchsafe not his calm breath, and the clouds kind
 Distil their honey-drops, his heat to 'lay,
 Poor Field will burn e'en in the midst of May.'

John Taylor, the water-poet, has inserted a joke in his *Wit and Mirth*, printed without date, but about 1620, in which Field is made a party, and in which he is represented as riding through the streets of London: it runs thus—'Master Field, the player, riding up Fleet Street a great pace, a gentleman called to him, and asked him what play was played that day? He (being angry to be stayed on so frivolous a demand) answered, that he might see what play was to be played upon every *post*. 'I cry you mercy (said the gentleman); I took you for a *post*, you rode so fast.' This *quiblet*, as Taylor calls it, and which he was perhaps the first to publish, afterwards ran the gauntlet of various jest-books: it was stolen, among others, by the collector of *Hugh Peters' Jests*, and finally made its appearance in *Westminster Quibbles*, printed late in the seventeenth century, where it is attributed to an actor of the name of Wallop. It did not cease to be repeated, until the practice of exposing playbills on posts became generally discontinued.

We have shown that Field was probably in full feather, and not in want of money, when he published his *Woman is a Weathercock* in 1612; and it seems likely, from an expression in the address 'to the reader' before the same play, that at that date he did not contemplate remaining long on the stage: 'if (he observes) thou hast anything to say to me, thou knowest where to hear of me *for a year or two, and no more*, I assure thee.' We may speculate that his indiscretion, and his inability to obtain a subsistence independently of the stage, induced him to continue upon it; and accordingly we have seen him attaching himself to Henslowe and Meade at Paris Garden, when it was made convertible into a playhouse about 1614, and we may presume that he was the leader of their company at least until 1617, when his agreement with them was to expire.

Field having played with Burbage in several of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, in which he was an original performer, we may be sure that he had firmly attached himself to the King's players some time before 1619, which is the earliest date at which his name occurs in any extant patent. Burbage was just dead at the time it was granted; but, as we have noticed in his memoir, his name was nevertheless accidentally included in the enumeration of the royal actors. We give the complete list, in order that the position Field occupies in it may be clearly seen: it was by no means prominent, and he is postponed even to Tooley and Underwood, the former of whom never arrived at any considerable distinction, while the latter had been one of Field's contemporaries nineteen years before, in the performance of *Cynthia's Revels*:—John Heminge, Richard Burbage, Henry Condell, John Lowin, Nicholas Tooley, John Underwood, Nathan Field, Robert Benfield, Robert Gough, William Ecclestone, Richard Robinson, John Shank. All these, and more, are found at the commencement of the folio of Shakespeare's works in 1623: of five we have already inserted in our volume such particulars as are known, so that we need not pause to criticise any of them, or to enter into conjectures why some are placed later in the enumeration than would seem due to their rank. One of these is unquestionably Field, who perhaps lost some ground in the profession during the three years he was under Henslowe, when he was disputing with the old manager, and when he was evidently struggling against poverty, perhaps occasioned by his own extravagance.

From the registers of St. Anne and St. Andrew, Blackfriars (which Malone and Chalmers never consulted, although a parish where it is natural to suppose some of our early actors would reside), we learn that Field must have been married before 1619, because he had a daughter baptised on the 9th September of that year: the entry also ascertains the Christian name of his wife—'Baptised: Alice Field, daughter to Nathan and Anne, 9th September 1619.'

We have failed to discover where the marriage took place—certainly not in any of the districts where our old theatres were situated, and the parties were most likely united at the parish church of the lady,

wherever that might be in town or country. We apprehend that Field took to himself 'the expensive luxury of a wife' soon after he became one of the King's players, and when he enjoyed larger emoluments than he had obtained under Henslowe. If we may believe an epigram written about this time, and handed down to us in MS.,¹ Field was of a jealous turn of mind; and it leads us to remark upon the probability that Burbage, some time before his death, had relinquished to Field the part of Othello: at all events Field, according to the epigrammatist, had played the character, and it may have been one of those which Burbage, as he advanced in years, allowed younger performers to assume.² The lines to which we allude are the following:—

‘DE AGELLO ET OTHELLO.

Field is, in sooth, an actor—all men know it,
And is the true Othello of the poet.
I wonder if 'tis true, as people tell us,
That, like the character, he is most jealous.
If it be so, and many living swear it,
It takes no little from the actor's merit,
Since, as the Moore is jealous of his wife,
Field can display the passion to the life.

¹ The original was sold among the manuscripts of the late Mr. Heber.

² Wright (*Historia Histrionica*) informs us that 'Swanston used to play Othello': this was, of course, at a date subsequent to the relinquishment of the part, from whatever cause, by Field. Had Swanston taken so important a character before 1623, his name would, we should think, have been certain to find a place in the list of actors preceding the first folio of Shakespeare's works.

Wright also states, that after the closing of the theatres 'Swanston professed himself a Presbyterian, took up the trade of a jeweller, and lived in Aldermanbury'. The fact is, that Iliard, or Hiliard Swanston, had resided, for many years before the breaking out of the civil wars, in Aldermanbury, where Heminge and Condell also lived. The registers, which Malone and Chalmers examined without meeting with Swanston's name, contain many entries of the birth of his children, beginning in 1622, and ending in 1638, after which date we hear no more of him in that parish. The register does not state in any instance his business or profession, and it may be suspected that he carried on the trade of a jeweller in Aldermanbury while he was yet on the stage, to which he was attached as one of the players at the Phoenix in 1621, if not earlier.

He was clearly married at the date when this piece of ill-nature was penned, and we have just shown that the first child, regarding which we have any information, was born in the autumn of 1619. One of his brothers had the name of Theophilus, and it was given to Field's next child, baptised at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, on 12th January 1620; but it lived only about three years, and was buried on 2nd February 1623. A son, christened after himself, was carried to the font on 4th August 1622. A 'daughter of Nathan and Anne Field' was named after the mother on 8th July 1625, but it was buried on the 16th of the same month, and was replaced by another Anne on 20th July 1627. If they had any more offspring, they were not baptised, nor buried, at St. Anne's or St. Andrew's.

We may feel assured that Field had retired from the profession in 1625, and probably before 1623, although in the later year he was not more than thirty-six. Our reason for concluding that he had left the stage in 1625 is, that his name is not found in the patent of Charles I when he came to the throne: our reason for thinking that he had disappeared from the scene before 1623 is, that he was not one of the performers in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, when it was revived shortly prior to that date. Had he been available, we cannot believe that an actor of such eminence would have been omitted from the cast. He had not belonged to the company when the tragedy was first introduced.

We have now little more to do than to record our actor's death, which took place about five years and half after the birth of the last child regarding which we have any memorial: his interment is thus registered at St. Anne's, in which parish he resided to the last:— 'Buried: Nathaniel Feild, 20 Feb. 1632.' Taking, of course, 20th February 1632, as 20th February 1633, according to our present reckoning, Field was only between forty-five and forty-six years old at the time of his death. He left behind him a widow and three children, the eldest not fourteen, and the youngest not six years old; but regarding them, and their future progress in the world, we have been able to obtain no intelligence: neither have we discovered how long the widow survived her husband.¹

¹ If the following entry, in the register of St. Anne's, relate to her, she was

Malone, in the few lines he wrote about Field, was obliged to content himself with supposing that he was dead in 1641;¹ and Chalmers says, 'he died before the year 1641, though I have not been able to discover either his will, or the date of his burial.'² The truth is, that they never looked in the most likely place to find the register of his interment, and were satisfied with the following extract from the prologue prefixed to the edition of Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois*, of 1641 :—

Field is gone,

Whose action first did give it name ;

alluding to the original personation of the hero by our actor, when yet a boy, which we have already mentioned.

The printer of the earliest impressions of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*, was Richard Field—'London, Imprinted by Richard Field, and are to be sold at the signe of the White Greyhound in Paules Church-yard'; and it has been conjectured that Shakespeare had been induced to employ him, because he, or his family, came from Stratford-upon-Avon. In 1592, the father of our great dramatist was appointed, with two others, to value the goods of a person of the name of 'Henry Feelde, of Stratford, tanner', and he may possibly have been the father of Richard Field, the printer. Whether this speculation be or be not well founded, we may add here, not inappropriately, that Richard Field lived in Blackfriars, while he carried on his business in St. Paul's Churchyard; and there we find his marriage thus registered, five years before he printed *Venus and Adonis* :—'Married: Richard Field to Jacklin Vautrillian, 12 Jan. 1588.' We give the names exactly as they stand in the entry; but Jacklin Vautrillian, ought properly to have been written Jaqueline Vautrollier, one of the daughters of the eminent printer who himself lived in St. Giles, Cripplegate, and had relations also in Southwark, as is testified by the registers of those parishes. We have failed in tracing any relationship between Nathaniel Field, the actor, living in 1637 :—'William Edwards, from widow Field's, buried 1st September, 1637.'

¹ *Shakespeare by Boswell*, iii, 213.

² *Suppl. Apology for the Believers*, p. 172.

and Richard Field, the printer, but they were certainly neighbours, living in the same small liberty of the Blackfriars. Richard Field had originally been apprenticed to Jackson, but was assigned over to Vautrollier, who was the first printer of the English *Plutarch* in 1579.

JOHN UNDERWOOD.

JUDGING from the number and variety of plays in which the services of Underwood were required, he must have been a very useful actor; but, as in the case of many of his 'fellows', we have, with one exception, no means of knowing at all certainly what parts he sustained, nor, indeed, what was the character of his performances, whether high or low, serious or comic, or whether he excelled in both departments. Scarcely a new drama seems to have been produced, during the period when he was connected with the stage, in which his assistance was not deemed necessary. In Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, he is mentioned in company with Field;¹ but although he may have been as often, he certainly never was as prominently employed. We do not find him spoken of by any writer of his time, so that we may presume, though valuable, he never arrived at any great degree of distinction or popularity.

We are unable to give the date or place of his birth, but it seems by the register of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate (the parish adjoining St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where so many actors lived and died) that his father and mother (as we suppose them to have been) were married in 1579-80:—'John Underwood and Elinor White were married 17th Jan. 1579, with license.' Our first tidings of Underwood as an actor are in 1600, when, as one of the Children of the Queen's Chapel, he was concerned in the representation of Ben Jonson's

¹ Wright is referring to the change that took place among the juvenile performers as they advanced in life:—'Some of these chapel-boys, when they grew men, became actors at the Blackfriars: such were Nathan Field and John Underwood.'

Cynthia's Revels. We know that at that date Field, who performed with him, was not fourteen years old, and perhaps Underwood was not older : of course, this supposition would place his birth about 1587, seven years after the union of his father and mother, if such they were. The other 'principal comedians' in *Cynthia's Revels* were Salathiel Pavy, Robert Baxter, Thomas Day, and John Frost ; and the names were arranged by Ben Jonson, as if Field and Underwood were the chief supporters of his 'comical Satire':—'Nat. Field, Sal. Pavy, Tho. Day, Joh. Underwood, Rob. Baxter, Joh. Frost.'

Unless some of them doubled their parts, and it is not at all unlikely, twenty-three actors were engaged in the drama, out of whom Ben Jonson only selected six, for distinction, in his list at the end of the printed copy in the folio of 1616. In 1601, when Underwood had a part in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*, the author placed the names of the six 'principal comedians' in the same manner, substituting William Ostler and Thomas Marton for Baxter and Frost.

We take it that Underwood was included in the association which acted Shakespeare's plays some years before Field joined it : Underwood's name is not found with Field's in the list of eight Children of the Queen's Revels, who had been engaged in producing Ben Jonson's *Epicoene*, in 1609 ; and in the next year he certainly had a part in *The Alchemist*, which was originally brought out by the King's players. Field's name does not appear there ; and in our memoir of him we have assigned our reasons for believing that he did not permanently become one of the King's players until 1616. Underwood acted also in *Catiline* in 1611 ; but the place his name occupies among his ten associates, both in *The Alchemist* and *Catiline*, does not indicate that he had a prominent or important character in either drama.

Perhaps he married about the date when he joined the King's players, but we have not met with any registration of the event. At the time of his death, about fifteen years afterwards, he was a widower, and the father of five children then living ; and it is very possible that money he obtained with his wife enabled him (as in the case of Lowin) to purchase an interest in the receipts at the Globe

and Blackfriars Theatres, about 1609. He was also the owner of shares in the Curtain Theatre in Shoreditch, and these may have come to him with his wife, or he may have subsequently bought them with his professional savings. It will be remembered that Pope, at the time of his death early in 1604, was entitled to shares in the Curtain and Globe, if not in the Rose: whether Pope and Underwood occasionally acted there is a point of which we are without evidence: it is clear, that from the time Underwood joined the King's players, until his death, he remained an active member of the company usually performing at the Globe and Blackfriars.

If, as we suppose, Underwood began to act, in the association for which Shakespeare exclusively wrote, in 1609, he could not have performed originally in many of the plays of our great dramatist. It is not, however, to be disputed that he was concerned in the first representation of most of the dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher, for his name is appended, with those of other members of the company, to the folio impressions of 1647 and 1679, in about twenty instances, besides others in which the list of actors was omitted by the editors: among them are *The Little French Lawyer*, *The Custom of the Country*, *Bonduca*, *The Knight of Malta*, *Valentinian*, *The Laws of Candy*, *The Queen of Corinth*, *The Loyal Subject*, *The False One*, *The Double Marriage*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *The Island Princess*, *The Pilgrim*, *The Sea Voyage*, *The Maid in the Mill*, and *A Wife for a Month*.

Chalmers tells us that Underwood 'represented Delio, in *The Duchess of Malfi*, in 1623':¹ this is a slight error, 1623 being the date when the tragedy was reprinted, on its revival, perhaps in the preceding year; but Chalmers also omitted to notice that Underwood had filled the same part about 1616, when *The Duchess of Malfi* was originally acted. This is the exception to which we alluded in the outset: it is the only character Underwood is known to have sustained, but it is a comparatively insignificant one, as the friend of Antonia Bologna, steward to the Duchess; and it has not been men-

¹ *Supplemental Apology*, p. 173. Nicholas Tooley, who died in the summer of 1623, was one of the madmen in *The Duchess of Malfi*.

tioned, although it is equally indisputable, that Underwood doubled his part, and acted one of 'several madmen' introduced in the course of the drama.

There is no other reason to suppose that Underwood was in bad circumstances in 1623, but that when Nicholas Tooley made his will, on 3rd June in that year, Underwood and Ecclestone were indebted to him: the sums are not specified, but Tooley 'forgave' it them, apparently in lieu of legacies which he bequeathed to some others of his fellows.

We have spoken of Underwood's marriage about 1609, and John, apparently his first child, was born in December 1610, and was thus registered at the church of St. Bartholomew the Less, West Smithfield:—'27 Dec. 1610. John, sonne of John Underwood, was baptised.'

Malone and Chalmers never consulted this register; and although our actor had a family of three boys and two girls, it is the only instance in which the birth of any of his children was recorded there, or indeed elsewhere, that we have been able to discover: his second boy was named Burbage Underwood, and it is more than probable that Richard or Cuthbert Burbage had stood godfather to it. There was a George and an Edward Underwood in the same parish, and at a subsequent date, but we cannot ascertain whether they were in any way related to John Underwood: on 1st November 1622, 'Grace, the daughter of George Underwood, by Margaret his wife', was baptised at St. Bartholomew the Less; and on 15th April 1628, an Edward Underwood was married to Joan Gybbins at the same church.

John Underwood was probably not forty at the time of his death,¹ which must have occurred soon after 10th October 1624. Chalmers asserts that 'he died in January 1624-5', but he quotes no parish register, or other authority, and does not inform us where he was buried. Underwood's will is dated 4th October 1624, and he there calls himself 'John Underwood, of the parish of St. Bartholomew

¹ In his will he speaks of 'the young years of my children'; and if John, baptised in 1610, were the eldest, he was only fourteen at the death of his father.

the Less', and he was then 'very weak and sick in body'; but in a codicil, dated 10th October 1624, he is spoken of as 'John Underwood, *late* of the parish of Little St. Bartholomew'. There is hardly room to doubt, from this variation, that he had removed, for change of air perhaps, in the interval between the making of the will and the adding of the codicil: moreover, the will is in the first person, and the codicil in the third, and unsigned, because, in fact, the testator was 'deceased' at the time it was drawn up, and, perhaps, dated. It is true that it was not proved until 1st February 1624-5, but months, and even years, were then sometimes allowed to pass between the death of a testator and the proof of his will: Chalmers, not adverting to this circumstance, seems to have guessed that Underwood's death did not take place until January preceding the proof of his will in February. On the contrary, we may be confident that he did not survive the month of October 1624; but our research has failed in discovering the registration of his burial, which could not have taken place at his parish church, or it would have been found in the ordinary record, at that period kept with unusual minuteness and accuracy.

It is clear, from the terms of his will (which we subjoin), and from its containing no mention of his wife, that she had died before him. He left his young family to the especial care of his 'loving and kind fellows', the King's players, and appointed Henry Condell, Thomas Sanford, and Thomas Smith, his executors, and John Heminge and John Lowin overseers of his will. It was proved, by Condell alone, about four months afterwards; and it will be recollected that when he died, in 1627, he solemnly charged his widow and executrix with the performance of certain incomplete trusts towards the children of his friend Underwood.

'In the name of God, Amen. I, John Underwood, of the parish of Saint Bartholomew the Less, in London, gent., being very weak and sick in body, but, thanks be given to Almighty God, in perfect mind and memory, do make and declare my last will and testament in manner and form following: viz, First, I commend and commit my soul to Almighty God, and my body to the earth, to be buried at the discretion of my executors; and my worldly goods and estate, which it hath pleased the Almighty God to bless me with, I will, bequeathe, and dispose

as followeth ; that is to say : to and amongst my five children, namely, John Underwood, Elizabeth Underwood, Burbage Underwood, Thomas Underwood, and Isabell Underwood (my debts and other legacies herein named paid, and my funeral and other just dues and duties discharged) all and singular my goods, household stuff, plate, and other things whatsoever in or about my now dwelling house, or elsewhere ; and also all the right, title, or interest, part or share, that I have and enjoy at this present by lease or otherwise, or ought to have, possess, or enjoy in any manner or kind at this present, or hereafter, within the Blackfriars, London, or in the company of his Ma'ties servants, my loving and kind fellows, in their house there, or at the Globe, on the Bankside ; and also that my part and share or due in or out of the playhouse called the Curtaine, situate in or near Holloway, in the parish of St. Leonard, London, or in any other place, to my said five children, equally and proportionably to be divided amongst them at their several ages of one-and-twenty years ; and during their and every of their minorities, for and towards their education, maintenance, and placing in the world, according to the discretion, direction, and care which I repose in my executors. Provided always, and my true intent and meaning is, that my said executors shall not alienate, change, or alter, by sale or otherwise, directly or indirectly, any my part or share which I now have, or ought to hold, have, possess, and enjoy, in the said playhouses called the Blackfriars, the Globe on the Bankside, and Curtaine aforementioned, or any of them, but that the increase and benefit out and from the same and every of them shall come, and accrue, and arise to my said executors ; as now it is to me, to the use of my said children, equally to be divided among them. Provided also, that if the use and increase of my said estate given (as aforesaid) to my said children, shall prove insufficient or defective, in respect of the young years of my children, for their education and placing of them as my said executors shall think meet, then my will and true meaning is, that when the eldest of my said children shall attaine to the age of one-and-twenty years, my said executors shall pay, or cause to be paid, unto him or her so surviving or attaining, his or her equal share of my estate so remaining undisturbed or undisposed for the uses aforesaid in their or either of their hands ; and so for every or any of my said children attaining to the age aforesaid : yet if it shall appear or seem fit at the completion of my said children, every or any of them, at their said full age, or ages, which shall first happen, my estate remaining not to be equally shared or disposed amongst the rest surviving in minority, then my will is, that it shall be left to my executors, to give unto my child so attaining the age, as they shall judge will be equal to the rest surviving and accomplishing the aforesaid age ; and if any of them shall die, or depart this life before they accomplish the said age, or ages, I will and bequeath their part, share, or portion to them, him or her surviving, at the ages aforesaid, equally to be divided by my executors as aforesaid.

‘ And I do hereby nominate and appoint my loving friends (in whom I repose my

trust for performance of the premises) Henry Cundell, Thomas Sanford, and Thomas Smith, gentlemen, my executors to this my last will and testament, and do intreat my loving friends, Mr. John Heminge and John Lowyn, my fellowes, overseers of the same my last will and testament; and I give to my said executors and overseers, for their pains (which I entreat them to accept), the sum of eleven shillings apiece, to buy them rings, to wear in remembrance of me. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred twenty-four.

‘JOHN UNDERWOOD.’

‘A Codicil to be annexed to the last will and testament of John Underwood, late of the parish of Little St. Bartholomew, London, deceased, made the tenth day of the month of October, Anno Domini, one thousand six hundred twenty-four, or thereabouts; viz., his intent and meaning was, and so he did will, dispose, and bequeath (if his estate would thereunto extend, and it should seem convenient to his executors) these particulars following in manner and form following: *scilt*, to his daughter Elizabeth two seal rings of gold, one with a death's head, the other with a red stone in it.

‘To his son, John Underwood, a seal ring of gold, with an A and a B in it.

‘To Burbage Underwood, a seal ring with a blue stone in it.

‘To Isabell, one hoop ring of gold.

‘To his said son John, one hoop ring of gold.

‘To his said daughter Elizabeth, one wedding ring.

‘To his said son Burbage, one hoop ring, black and gold.

‘To his said son Thomas, one hoop ring of gold, and one gold ring with a knot.

‘To his said daughter Isabell, one blue sapphire, and one joint ring of gold.

‘To John Underwood, one half dozen of silver spoons, and one gilt spoon.

‘To Elizabeth, one silver spoon, and three gilt spoons.

‘To Burbage Underwood, his son aforementioned, one great gilt spoon, one plain bowl, and one rough bowl.

‘To Thomas Underwood, his son, one silver porringer, one silver taster, and one gilt spoon.

‘To Isabell, his said daughter, three silver spoons, two gilt spoons, and one gilt cup.

‘Which was so had and done before sufficient and credible witness, the said testator being of perfect mind and memory.

‘*Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum una cum codicillo eidem annex. apud London, coram iudice, primo die mensis Februarii, Anno Domini 1624, juramento Henrici Cundell, unius executor. cui, etc., de bene, etc., jurat, reservata potestate similem commissionem faciendi Thome Sandford et Thome Smith, executoribus etiam in hujusmodi testamento nominat. cum venerint eam petitur.*’

It nowhere appears who were the witnesses to the codicil, but, as we have said, it seems to have been prepared after Underwood's death: we may presume, perhaps, that it bears date on the day the testator's wish was signified; and, if he had not then been *in extremis*, there appears no reason why he should not have executed it.

NICHOLAS TOOLEY.

IN the biography of Nicholas Tooley a difficulty presents itself in the outset, and continues through the whole of his career, arising from the fact, stated in the codicil to the will, that his real name was Nicholas Wilkinson. Nevertheless, he seems all his life to have been called Tooley, and the statement that his true patronymic was Wilkinson looks like an after-thought: it stands Nicholas Tooley throughout the body of the will; but when he added the codicil, bearing date on the same day, he called himself, 'Nicholas Wilkinson, *alias* Tooley', as if, until then, he had himself forgotten what was his real name.

It has been supposed, with some plausibility, that he came originally from Warwickshire, and it is quite certain that a Nicholas Tooley, perhaps the father of our actor, was resident in the county in 1569, his name being inserted in the muster-book of that year. On the other hand, we meet with several persons of the name of Tooley in the registers of various churches in London: in 1590 John Tooley was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, from Holywell Street, where so many actors at that date resided: Elias Tooley was married to Helen Webbe at St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1605, and we meet with the name in the same registers nearly fifty years earlier: John Tooley had a daughter baptised at St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, in 1598; and William Rowley, the author-actor, was married to Isabel Tooley, at Cripplegate church, in 1637.¹

¹ The following repetitions of the two names, Nicholas and Tooley, occur at a

We are puzzled also by the repetition of the names of Nicholas Wilkinson in some of the old registers. We apprehend, for instance, that the following may be the entry of the birth of our actor at St. Anne's, Blackfriars:—'Nicholas Wilkinson, sonne to Charles Wilkinson, baptized 3 Feb. 1574.' It accords pretty exactly with what we may suppose to have been the age of Nicholas Tooley or Wilkinson; but, unless he married very early indeed, the subsequent, from the registers of St. Bartholomew-the-Less, cannot relate to the death of his wife:—'4 Feb. 1593. The wife of Nicholas Wilkinson, of London, gent., was buried.' Ten years afterwards we meet with the birth of a Nicholas Wilkinson, recorded at St. Botolph, Bishopgate. If Nicholas Tooley were born in London, and were not a native of Warwickshire, the quotation we have above made, from the register of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, the year before the theatre was constructed there, would answer our purpose, by establishing that he was born in 1574-5.

In his will, of which we have already spoken, and which we have inserted at length at the end of our memoir, Tooley calls Richard Burbage his 'late master'; and there can be no doubt that he was originally apprenticed to that great actor; but whether Burbage secured Tooley's services in Warwickshire, where he was himself born, or in the metropolis, we cannot upon any evidence before us pretend to decide. Why and how he acquired the name of Tooley, by which he was known all his life, and which he himself subscribed to the nuncupative will of his 'master' in 1619, and to his own in 1623; and whether it had any and what connexion with Tooley (or St. Olave's) Street, Southwark, must remain matter for future explanation. A person of the name of William Tooley was 'yeoman Lord of Misrule', in a list of the household establishment of Henry VIII; and in 1576-7, a play called *Toolie* was represented at Hampton Court by the players of Lord Howard.¹

later date, in the register of St. Paul, Covent Garden; possibly this Tooley was a descendant from our actor:—'William, sonne of Nicholas Tooley, and of Mary, his wife, borne Ap. 7, 1655; baptized 11th.' '27 June, 1655. William, sonne of Nicholas Tooley, buried in the ch. yd.' '5 June, 1556. Mary, wife of Nicholas Tooley, buried in ch. yard.'

¹ P. Cunningham's *Extracts from the Revels' Accounts*, p. 102.

Both Malone and Chalmers state positively, that Nicholas Tooley acted in Tarlton's plat of *The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins* before 1588; and Chalmers goes so far as to assert that Tooley acted Rhodope; but the fact is, that the performer of that part is only called 'Nich', which may mean any other Nicholas besides Tooley. At the same time it is not at all unlikely to have been Tooley, then a boy, as we suppose, of thirteen or fourteen, and an apprentice to Richard Burbage, whose name is found in the same piece. Possibly Tooley was introduced only as 'Nich', because the writer of the 'plat' did not know whether to call him Tooley or Wilkinson;¹ but it is to be observed that in the same document we have Will, Saunder, and Ned as the Christian names of other performers.

He had advanced to the rank of one of the 'owners and players' at the Blackfriars in 1596, when the principal members of the company addressed the privy council, in order that they might be permitted to complete the repair and enlargement of that theatre: Nicholas Tooley's name comes last in the list of eight sharers.

He was not named in the patent granted by James I at his accession; but when that instrument was renewed and confirmed on 27th March 1619, Tooley is placed fifth in a list of twelve performers, being preceded only by Heminge, Burbage (who had died only a few days before), Condell, and Lowin. There is no doubt that at this date, Tooley was a much employed member of the association called the King's players.

What became of Tooley in the interval between 1596 and 1610 we have little information, unless he were the narrator of the anecdote of Shakespeare and Burbage in Manningham's *Diary*, which belongs to the years 1601 and 1602, i, 319. It is not necessary to repeat the story here, and we only allude to it now, in order to mention that a person of the name of Tooley, Towley, or Towse (for the

¹ He is perhaps the 'Nicke' mentioned in Mrs. Alleyn's letter to her absent husband of 20th October 1603; *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, p. 63. Who was the 'old Tooley' mentioned by Nash in his *Have with you to Saffron Waldon*, in 1596, where he speaks of his pronunciation of the 'neoteric tongues' professed by G. Harvey?

authority is very imperfectly written and blotted out in the MS.), is there quoted as the person who told the incident to Manningham. It is possible that between 1596 and 1610 Tooley, like Kemp, had temporarily joined some other company; but we are to bear in mind, that when Augustine Phillips made his will, in May 1605, he left 'his fellow, Nicholas Tooley', a legacy of twenty shillings, mentioning him with other members of the company of the King's players. Therefore, if Tooley retired from the association at all, he had returned to it in 1605; and our reason for imagining that he had not continued with his 'master' Burbage is, that we do not meet with his name as one of the actors in any of Ben Jonson's earlier dramas: if he played in *Every Man in his Humour*, *Every Man out of his Humour*, *Sejanus*, or *Volpone*, he was not enumerated by their author among the 'principal comedians' engaged in their representation. We hear of him in 1610 as one of the ten chief actors in *The Alchemist*, and in 1611 as similarly employed in *Catiline*; and his name occupies precisely the same place in both lists, viz., the last but one in the second column. For greater distinctness we will quote them as they stand at the end of *Catiline*, in the folio of 1616, which, as we have before stated, we suppose to have been prepared and corrected by Ben Jonson:—Ric. Burbage, Alex. Cooke, Joh. Lowin, Wil. Ostler, Ric. Robinson, John Hemings, Hen. Condel, Joh. Underwood, Nic. Tooly, Wil. Eglestone. We have no clue to the parts Tooley and others took in *The Alchemist* or in *Catiline*, and the same remark will apply to at least fourteen plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, before which the name of Tooley is inserted as that of one of the actors. Among his latest performances must have been characters in *The Prophetess*, *The Sea Voyage*, and *The Spanish Curate*, all of which were licensed for the stage in 1622. His name is also inserted by the player-editors among the actors of *A Wife for a Month*; but this must have been an error: that comedy was not sanctioned for performance by the Master of the Revels until 27th May 1624, and Tooley had then been dead nearly a year: he did not even act in *The Maid in the Mill*, because it was licensed about a month after his decease; but in this instance his name is omitted at the bottom of the *dramatis personæ*.

This circumstance tends to show that Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* (in the *dramatis personæ* of which Tooley's name occurs twice, as the representative of Forobosco, who says nothing, and of one of the madmen, whose part was of course mainly action) must have been reproduced before June 1623. The tragedy was originally acted about the year 1616, and then also Tooley performed in it.

Respecting the place of his residence during his theatrical career we can give no satisfactory information: the token-books of St. Saviour's, Southwark, contain a John Tooley; he had lived 'on the west side of the Bank, toward Waverley house', but in the margin opposite his name, in 1612, we read 'gone', as if he had then removed. We can only guess that he may have been related to Nicholas Tooley. John Tooley is never called Wilkinson.

In the same way we may speculate that there might be a family connection between our actor and Cuthbert Tooley, who was one of the 'chirurgeons' to Queen Anne of Denmark, and who walked at her funeral in 1619, as appears by Sir Lionel Cranfield's account of the ceremony preserved in the Audit Office.

At the time Tooley made his will, dated 3rd June 1623, he was lodging in the private house of Cuthbert Burbage, the bookseller, which we know was in Holywell Street, Shoreditch; but, for some unexplained reason, he was buried in the churchyard of St. Giles, without Cripplegate, and the entry of the event stands thus in the register:—'Buried. Nicholas Tooley, Gentleman, from the house of Cuthbert Burbidge, Gentleman. 5 June 1623.' It is very possible that St. Giles was his own parish church, and that he had lived in Cripplegate before his fatal illness: when attacked by it, he may have gone to lodge with Cuthbert Burbage; and it will be seen that he bequeaths Mrs. Cuthbert Burbage 10*l.* additional, as a remembrance of his love for the 'motherly care' she had bestowed upon him: the expression reads as if he had been the younger of the two, and supposing Tooley to have been born, and baptised Nicholas Wilkinson at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, in 1574-5, he was not fifty at his death.

He mentions neither wife nor child in his will, and the probability

is that he died single: the only relations he speaks of are some persons of the name of Cobb, to whom he released certain small debts and gave small legacies, but he left the bulk of his property, 'goods, chattels, leases, money, debts, and personal estate', to his 'loving friends', Cuthbert Burbage and Henry Condell, to be equally divided between them. He was under bond for 10*l.* for Joseph Taylor, which he directed his executors to pay: John Underwood and William Ecclestone owed him money, which he released them; but he bequeathed 29*l.* 13*s.*, which Richard Robinson was indebted to him, to Sarah Burbage, daughter of his 'late master, Richard Burbadge', as a marriage portion, or, if unmarried, to be paid to her when she came of age.

His charitable bequests (not including 10*l.* for his funeral sermon) were 80*l.* to St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, for the distribution of thirty-two penny wheaten loaves every Sunday to the poor; and we learn from Stow's *Survey*, by Strype, that the vicar, churchwardens, and vestrymen of the parish, purchased with the 80*l.* a yearly rent-charge, 'issuing out of the George in Holywell Street', for the true performance of the trust:¹ Tooley also gave 20*l.* to the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, for the distribution of eight penny loaves every Sunday; but in what way this object was secured in that parish we are unable to state. He was 'sick in body' when he made the following will, on 3rd June 1623; and as he was buried on the 5th June, we may conclude that he died on the 4th June, but of what disorder nowhere appears.

'In the name of God, Amen. I, Nicholas Tooley, of London, gentleman, being sicke in body, but of perfect mynd and memorie, praised be God therefore, doe make and declare this my last will and testament, in forme following; that is to say: first, I commend my soule into the hands of Almighty God, the Father, trusting and assuredlie beleaving, that by the merits of the precious death and passion of his only sonne, and my only Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, I shall obtaine full and free pardon and forgiveness of all my sinnes, and shall enjoy everlasting life in the kingdom of Heaven, amongst the elect children of God. My bodie I committ to the earth from whence yt came, to be buried in decent manner, at the discretion of my executors hereunder named. My worldlie substance I doe dispose of as followeth:

¹ *Stowe's Survey*, by Strype, edit. 1720, B. iv, p. 53.

'Imprimis, I give unto my good friend, Mr. Thomas Adams, preacher of God's word, whome I doe entreate to preach my funerall sermon, the some of ten pounds.

'Item, I doe release and forgive unto my kinswoman, Mary Cobb of London, widdowe, the some of fyve pounds which she oweth me, and I do give unto her the some of fyve pounds more.

'Item, I do release and forgive unto her sonne, Peter Cobb, the somme of sixe pounds which he oweth me.

'Item, I doe give unto her sonne, John Cobb, the some of sixe pounds.

'Item, I doe give unto her daughter, Margaret Moseley, the somme of fyve pounds.

'Item, I doe give unto Mrs. Burbage, the wife of my good friend, Mr. Cuthbert Burbage (in whose house I doe nowe lodge), as a remembrance of my love, in respect of her motherlie care over me, the some of tenn pounds, over and besides such sommes of money as I shall owe unto her att my decease.

'Item, I do give unto her daughter, Elizabeth Burbage, alias Maxey, the somme of tenn pounds, to be payd unto her owne proper hands, therewithall to buy her such things as she shall thinke moste meete to weare in remembrance of me. And my will is, that an acquittance under her only hand and seal shal be a sufficient discharge in lawe to my executors for payment thereof, to all intents, purposes, and constructions, and as fully as if her pretended husband should make and seale the same with her.

'Item, I give to Alice Walker, the sister of my late Mr. Burbage, deceased, the somme of tenn pounds, to be payd unto her owne proper hands, therewithall to buy her such things as she shall thinke most meete to weare in remembrance of me. And my will is, that an acquittance under her only hand and seale shal be a sufficient discharge in lawe to my executors for the payment thereof, to all intents, purposes, and constructions, and as fully as if her husband should make and seale the same with her.

'Item, I give unto Sara Burbage, the daughter of my said late mr., Richard Burbage, deceased, that somme of twentye and nyne pounds and thirteen shillings, which is owing unto me by Richard Robinson, to be recovered, retayned, and disposed of by my executors hereunder named, until her marriage, or age of twenty and one years (which shall first and next happen) without any allowaunce to be made of use, otherwise then as they in their discretions shall think meete to allow unto her.

'Item, I give unto Mrs. Condell, the wife of my good friend, Mr. Henry Condell, as a remembrance of my love, the sum of fyve pounds.

'Item, I give unto Elizabeth Condell, the daughter of the said Henry Condell, the somme of tenn pounds.

'Item, whereas I stand bound for Joseph Taylor, as his surety for payment of

tenn pounds, or thereabouts, my will is, that my executors shall out of my estate pay that debt for him, and discharge him out of that bond.

'Item, I do release and forgive unto John Underwood and William Ecclestone all such sommes of money as they do severally owe unto me.

'Item, I do give and bequeath, for and towards the perpetuall reliefe of the poore people of the parishe of St. Leonard, in Shoreditch, in the county of Middlesex, under the condition hereunder expressed, the some of fourscore pounds, to remayne as a stocke in the same parish, and to be from tyme to tyme ymployed, by the advise of the parson, churchwardens, overseers for the poore, and vestrymen of the said parishe, for the tyme being, or the greater number of them, in such sort as that on everie Sunday after morninge prayer, for ever, there may, out of the encrease which shall arrise by the ymployment thereof, be distributed amongst the poorer sort of people of the same parishe, thirtie-and-two penny wheaten loaves for their relief. Provided alwaies, and my will and mind is, that yf my said gift shalbe misimployed or neglected to be performed in anie wise contrarie to the true meaning of this my will, then, and in such case, I give and bequeath the same legacie of fourscore pounds for and towards the reliefe of the poore people in the parishe of St. Gyles without Cripplegate, London, to be imployed in that parishe in forme aforesaid.

'Item, I doe give and bequeath, for and towards the perpetuall relief of the poore of the said parishe of St. Giles without Cripplegate, London, under the condition hereunder expressed, the somme of twenty pounds, to remayne as a stocke in the same parishe, and to be from tyme to tyme ymployed, by the advise of the churchwardens, overseers for the poore, and vestrymen of the same parishe for the tyme being, or the greater number of them, in such sort as that on every Sunday after morning prayer, for ever, there may, out of the encrease which shall arrise by the ymployment thereof, be distributed amongst the poorer sort of people of the same parishe eight penny wheaten loaves for their reliefe : provided alwaies, and my will and mynd is, that yf my said gift shalbe misimployed or neglected to be performed in anie wise contrarie to the true meaninge of this my will, then and in such case I give and bequeath the same legacie of twenty pounds for and towards the reliefe of the poorer people of the said parishe of St. Leonard in Shoreditch, to be imployed in that parishe in forme aforesaid.

'Item, my will and mynd is, and I doe hereby devise and appoynt, that all and singuler the legacies bequeathed by this my will (for payment whereof no certaine tyme is otherwise limited) shalbe truly payd by my executors, hereunder named, within the space of one yeare att the furthest next after my decease. All the rest and residue of all and singular my goods, chattels, leases, money, debtes, and personall estate, whatsoever and wheresoever (my debtes, legacies, and funerall charges discharged), I doe fully and wholly give and bequeath unto my afore-named loving friends, Cuthbert Burbage and Henry Condell, to be equally divided betweene them, parte and parte like. And I doe make, name, and

constitute the said Cuthbert Burbage and Henry Condell the executors of this my last will and testament. And I doe hereby revoke and make voyd all former wills, testaments, codicills, legacies, executors, and bequests whatsoever, by me at any tyme heretofore made, named, given or appointed, willing and mynding that theis precedents only shall stand and be taken for my last will and testament, and none other.

‘In witness whereof to this my last will and testament, conteyninge foure sheets of paper, with my name subscribed to everie sheete, I have sett my seale the third day of June 1623, and in the one and twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord King James, etc.

NICHOLAS TOOLEY.

‘Signed, sealed, pronounced, and declared by the said Nicholas Tooley, the testator, as his last will and testament, on the day and yeares above written, in the presence of us,

‘The marke + of ANNE ASPLIN.

‘The marke + of MARY COBER.

‘The marke + of JOANE BOOTH.

‘The marke + of AGNES DAWSON.

‘The marke E. B. of ELIZABETH BOLTON.

‘The marke + of FAITH KEMPSALL.

‘The marke + of ISABEL STANLEY.

‘HUM. DYSON, Notary Public.

‘And of me, RO. DICKENS, servt. unto the
‘said Notary.’

‘Memorandum, that I, Nicholas Wilkinson, alias Tooley, of London, gentleman, have on the day of the date of theis presents, by the name of Nicholas Tooley, of London, gentleman, made my last will and testament in writing, conteyning foure sheetes of paper, with my name subscribed to every sheete, and sealed with my seale, and thereby have given and bequeathed divers personall legacies to divers persons, and for divers uses, and therefore have made, named, and constituted my lovinge friends, Cuthbert Burbage and Henry Condell, the executors, as thereby may more at large appeare. Now, for the explanation, cleering, avoyding, and determination of all such ambiguities, doubtess, scruples, questions, and variances about the validite of my said last will, as may arise, happen, or be moved after my decease, by reason of the omission of my name of Wilkinson therein, I doe therefore, by this my presente codicil, by the name of Nicholas Wilkinson, alias Tooley, ratifie, confirme, and approve my said last will and everie gifte, legacye, and bequest therein expressed, and the executors therein named, as fully and amply, to all intents, purposes, and constructions, as if I had been so named in my said last will, any omission of my said name of Wilkinson in my said last will, or any scruple, doubt, question, variance, misinterpretation, cavill or misconstruction whatsoever, to be had, moved, made or inferred thereupon or thereby, or any other matter, cause, or thinge whatsoever,

to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding. And I doe hereby alsoe further declare, that my will, mynd, and meaning is, that this my presente codicil shalbe, by all judges, magistrates and other persons, in all courts and other places, and to all intents and purposes, expounded, construed, deemed, reputed and taken to be as parte and parcell of my said last will and testament. As witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seal the third day of June 1623, and in the one and twentieth year of the raigne of our soveraigne lord King James, etc.

NICHOLAS WILKINSON, als TOOLEY. (L.S.)

'Signed, sealed, pronounced and declared by the said Nicholas Wilkinson, alias Tooley, as a codicil to be annexed unto his last will and testament, on the day and yeares above written, in the presence of us,

'SIMON DREWE.

'The marke I. S. of ISABELL STANLEY.

'The marke + of FAITH KEMPSALL.

'HUM. DYSON, Notary Public.

'And of me, RO. DICKENS, servt. unto
'the said Notary.'

The proof of the will, according to Chalmers,¹ who first printed it, was made by Cuthbert Burbage and Henry Condell, the executors, on 17th June 1624, more than a year after the death of the testator.

WILLIAM ECCLESTONE.

THERE is little doubt that the family, from which William Ecclestone (or Egglestone) sprang, resided at an early date in Southwark: the token-books inform us that a person of that name, perhaps the father of our actor, dwelt in 1583 'on the west side of the Bank': in 1601 the same individual (his Christian name is given in neither instance) seems to have lived in Swan Alley, which was in the immediate vicinity of the Swan Theatre. We have met with no entry of the birth of William Ecclestone, but he was probably married early in 1603, as we find by the Register of St. Saviour's:—'1602, Feb. 20. Married, William Eglestone and Anne Jacob.' If a family were the fruit of

¹ *Apology for the Believers*, p. 456.

this union, we have no record of it in the parishes, the registers of which we have examined with a view to the discovery of such particulars.¹

When first we hear of William Ecclestone, in connection with the stage, he was a member of the association to which Shakespeare still belonged, though he had ceased to act some years before the name of Ecclestone occurs in any list of the company. Ecclestone was one of the actors in Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*, performed in 1610, and in the same author's *Catiline*, brought out in 1611. He had no part (at least his name is not given by the author) in *Every Man in his Humour*, *Every Man out of his Humour*, *Sejanus*, or *Volpone*; so that we may presume he became one of the King's players between 1605 and 1610: in *The Alchemist* and *Catiline* Will. Ecclestone comes last in the author's enumeration of 'the principal comedians'.

However unimportant might be the characters he sustained on those occasions, the appearance of Ecclestone's name among the actors in *Catiline* establishes (a point with which Gifford could not be acquainted) that that tragedy was acted before 29th August 1611; because at that date Ecclestone had quitted the King's company, and had joined the association called the players of Prince Henry, consisting of twelve principal performers or sharers, his name being inserted fourth in the document from which we derive our information. It is a bond entered into with Henslowe, by the actors in his pay, for the performance of certain articles under his management at the Fortune, and it is preserved among Alleyn's papers at Dulwich College.² We learn from the same instrument, that Joseph Taylor had also at that date abandoned his quarters and his companions at

¹ We noticed the baptisms of two William Ecclestons, but at too modern dates for our purpose, and the name of the father did not correspond: one at St. Mary, Aldermanbury:—'Baptized, 26 Sept. 1612, William, the sonne of Robert Egleston.' The other at St. Anne, Blackfriars:—'William Egglestone, sonne to Edward and Elizabeth, baptized 11 Feb. 1619.' There were Ecclestons also in Shoreditch as early as 1578, when Jane Ecclestone was buried at St. Leonard's.

² See a copy of it, with the names of all the players appended, in *The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, p. 98.

the Globe and Blackfriars, and his name immediately precedes that of Ecclestone in the enumeration of the company Henslowe had formed : it may be worth while to repeat it here, that the reader may see who were the associates of Taylor and Ecclestone at this period : — 'John Townsend, Will. Barksted, Joseph Taylor, William Ecclestone, Giles Cary, Thomas Hunt, John Rice, Robt. Hamlett, Will. Carpenter, Thomas Basse, Joseph Moore, Alexander Foster.' For what reasons Taylor and Ecclestone had consented, in the summer of 1611, to act with a rival company at the Fortune, we have no means of knowing : Taylor perhaps thought he had not room enough for the display of his powers in an association of which Burbage was the leading member, and Ecclestone may have been dissatisfied with his inferior position, recollecting that his name comes last in Ben Jonson's two lists of the ten performers in his *Alchemist* and *Catiline*. Neither of them continued long under the control of Henslowe (who, as we shall see presently, contrived to quarrel with his company), and we meet with their names as performers in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Honest Man's Fortune*, which was brought out by the King's players in 1613.¹ It is to be observed, however, that Burbage had no part in this drama, the principal actors being Nathan Field, Robert Benfield, Emmanuel Read, Joseph Taylor, William Ecclestone, and Thomas Basse. Thomas Basse was another actor who had forsaken Henslowe, and followed Taylor and Ecclestone, when they rejoined their old associates of the Globe and Blackfriars.

Among *The Alleyn Papers*² is a curious document, originally derived from Dulwich College, but not now preserved there, relating to the dispute between Henslowe and the actors whom he had collected in August 1611. Hence it appears that, before Taylor quitted the Prince's players, he borrowed 30*l.* of Henslowe, which the old manager cunningly placed in his account as a debit from the whole company : on the other hand, Henslowe had obtained 14*l.* from

¹ In 1624 Sir Henry Herbert called it 'an old play', and a MS. of it was in the library of Mr. Heber, thus entitled '*The Honest Man's Fortune*'. Plaide in the yeare 1613'

² Printed by the Shakespeare Society, p. 78.

Ecclestone, which, it is charged, he had never brought to the credit of the association. The date of February 1614-15, is given in this paper, so that it refers to a period two years after Taylor and Ecclestone had ceased to perform at the Fortune.

Ecclestone remained one of his Majesty's servants in 1619, because his name is included in the confirmation then granted by James I of his patent of 1603. He was either dead, had retired from the stage, or had joined some other company in 1625; for when Charles I renewed the patent of his father, Ecclestone's name is not to be found in it. If he were dead, we are without any record of his burial: if he had retired from the stage, we have no notice of the fact; and if he had joined some other company, we do not meet with his name anywhere as a member of it. Had he continued one of the King's players in 1625, he could hardly have been omitted in the patent of Charles I.

The latest date at which he can be traced on the stage is about 1622, for he was a performer in Fletcher's plays, brought out at that period. His name is inserted in the lists, under the *dramatis personæ* of *The Little French Lawyer*, *The Custom of the Country*, *Bonduca*, *The Laws of Candy*, *The Loyal Subject*, *The Mad Lover*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *Women Pleased*, *The Island Princess*, *The Sea Voyage*, and *The Spanish Curate*. Some of these were produced, as we have said, in 1622; but if William Ecclestone were the author of the lines subscribed W. E., before Taylor and Lowin's edition of *The Wild Goose Chase* in 1652, he must have lived to an advanced time of life: supposing him to have been married in 1603, according to the register at St. Saviour's, he could scarcely have been less than seventy in 1652. No will by any William Ecclestone of that period has been discovered.

JOSEPH TAYLOR.

AMONG the baptisms at St. Andrew's in the Wardrobe, close by the Blackfriars Theatre, we meet with that of a Joseph Taylor, which, from the correspondence of dates, we may very reasonably consider the registration of our actor. It runs thus, without any mention of parents, or place of residence :—' Joseph Taylor, baptized 6 Feb. 1585.' In no other register have we seen the baptism of a Joseph Taylor, that in point of date would so well answer our purpose, and in the course of the following memoir we shall assume that our quotation applies to the subject of it.¹ We shall see presently that he was an inhabitant of Southwark in 1607, and he married the daughter

¹ Joseph Taylor, the actor, is not to be confounded with John Taylor, the water-poet, who was much concerned with players, and whose initials being the same as those of Joseph Taylor, may occasion mistakes in the old parish records. John Taylor at one time lived in Southwark, and he is now and then spoken of as J. Taylor, but the actor is uniformly called Joseph Taylor. We may here introduce an epitaph upon John Taylor, which has never been reprinted, and which corrects Anthony Wood's conjecture (*Ath., Oxon.*, iii, 765, edit. Bliss), as to the birth and death of the water-poet. It is from a work called *Sportive Wit: the Muses Merriment*, 8vo, 1656.

'An Epitaph on John Taylor, who was born in the City of Gloucester, died in Phoenix Alley in the 75 yeare of his age : you may finde him, if the worms have not devoured him, in Covent Garden Churchyard :—

'Here lies John Taylor, without rime or reason,
For death struck his muse in so cold a season,
That Jack lost the use of his scullers to row ;
The chill pate rascal would not let his boat go.
Alas, poor Jack Taylor ! this 'tis to drink ale
With nutmegs and ginger, with a toste though stale :
It drencht thee in rimes. Hadst thou been of the pack
With Draiton and Johnson to quaff off thy sack,
They'd infus'd thee a genius should nere expire,
And have thawd thy muse with elemental fire.
Yet still, for the honour of thy sprightly wit,
Since some of thy fancies so handsomely hit,
The nymphs of the rivers, for thy relation,
Sinnamed thee the *water-poet* of the nation.

of a widow of the name of Ingle in 1610, at St. Saviour's Church, where the ceremony seems registered as follows:—‘Married, 1610, May 2, Joseph Taylor and Elizabeth Ingle.’ ‘The widow Ingle’, as appears by the token-books of the liberty of the Clink, lived on ‘the east side of the Bank’; but Taylor’s residence, in 1607, had been in ‘Mr. Langley’s new rents, near the playhouse’, meaning probably the Globe, with the company performing at which, in the next year at least, Taylor was importantly connected. He perhaps occupied the same house when he married, but it is more likely that he removed to Austen’s Rents, where we find him in 1612, and where he continued in 1615. In 1617 ‘gone’ is written against his name, but whither he had removed we have not been able to ascertain: he had probably quitted Southwark, because, if he had any children between 1617 and 1623 (when by the token-books we learn that he was again ‘near the playhouse’), they were not baptised at St. Saviour’s. He was still ‘near the playhouse’ in 1629; but in 1631 it is stated generally that he lived ‘on the Bankside’, and in 1633, which is the last we hear of him in Southwark, his abode was in Gravel Lane.

These are minute points, with which Malone and Chalmers were not acquainted, the token-books not having been discovered when they made their researches at St. Saviour’s: the registers were however available, and from them they made various quotations in reference to other players: it is singular, therefore, that they did not observe one of the five entries respecting the children of Joseph and Elizabeth Taylor, commencing in 1612, and ending in 1623. We subjoin them in succession as they stand in the books, that we may complete our domestic information, before we speak of Taylor in his public capacity:—‘1612, July 12. Elsabeth Taylor, daughter of Joseph, a player: baptized.’ ‘1614, July 21. Dixsye Taylor,

Who can write more of thee, let him do’t for me,
A pox take all rimers, Jack Taylor, but thee.
Weep not, reader, if thou canst chuse,
Over the stone of so merry a muse.’—Sign. Ii 1.

The same work contains ‘Another from the University’, but it is hardly worth quoting, and supplies no information.

Joseph Taylor, twinns of Joseph, a player: baptized.' '1615, Jan. 11. Jone Taylor, daughter of Joseph, a player: baptized.' '1617, June 1. Robert Taylor, sonne of Joseph, a player: baptized.' '1623, Aug. 24. Anne Taylor, daughter of Joseph, a player: baptized.' The addition of 'a player' in every instance removes the possibility of doubt, and we can only be surprised at the carelessness of preceding biographers, who omitted the memoranda we have above quoted. If Joseph Taylor lost any children, they were not buried at St. Saviour's; and, as we have already remarked, we have found no trace of the baptism of any between 1617 and 1623, when we suppose that he and his wife lived out of the parish of Saviour's.

In his connection with theatres and companies of actors, Taylor seems, early in life, to have been somewhat unsettled; but there is, here and there, an apparent confusion, if not contradiction, in our extant information.

He was in his twenty-third year in 1608, and this is the earliest date at which his name occurs in relation to the stage. He was about that time the owner of a share and a half in the receipts at the Blackfriars Theatre, valued at 350*l.*, and as he was in this important position, as regards the very prosperous association called the King's players, we are, we think, warranted in concluding that he had then been some years on the stage, and, possibly, like many others, began his career as a boy.

We have already shown in the memoir of Richard Burbage that he was the original Hamlet; so that although Wright may be quite correct when he says, in his *Historia Histrionica*, that Taylor performed that part 'incomparably well', he must be speaking of a date subsequent to the death of Burbage, when, no doubt, Hamlet devolved into the hands of Taylor. Downes, who could know nothing of the matter but by remote stage-tradition, asserts that Taylor was instructed in the proper mode of acting *Hamlet* by Shakespeare,¹ and he may have occasionally taken it as the 'double' of Burbage, when the latter could not perform; but we may be quite sure that Burbage did not relinquish so prominent and applauded a character

¹ *Roscius Anglicanus*, 8vo., 1708, p. 21.

until his death. Wright was better informed upon such subjects than to state that Taylor was Hamlet when that tragedy was first produced, and when Burbage was in the height of his powers and reputation. It is no doubt true, and it is a matter that may have come within the knowledge of Downes, that Sir W. Davenant, who had seen Taylor, taught Betterton how to act *Hamlet*, but Downes was not aware that Taylor had had a predecessor in the part, a fact with which we are acquainted on indisputable authority.

We must conclude that not long after 1608 Taylor disposed of his share and a half in the receipts of the Blackfriars Theatre: the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London were then making a renewed attempt to exclude the King's players from that privileged precinct, and Taylor might sell his property, under the mistaken apprehension that the city authorities would succeed. Certain it is that in August 1611, he had become one of the players of Prince Henry, under Philip Henslowe, but he continued a member of that association only for a short time, for in 1613 he had rejoined the actors at the Globe and Blackfriars. Taylor would hardly have remained a sharer in the profits of the Blackfriars while he was himself acting with a body of theatrical competitors: whether he returned to his old quarters on the same terms as those he enjoyed about 1608, is a point that cannot now be settled.

Soon after the death of Prince Henry, most of his players became those of the Palatine of the Rhine; and there is reason to believe that Taylor belonged to this body before it 'broke' and was dissolved. He seems to have shifted about a good deal at this period, and in 1614 he unquestionably was one of the Lady Elizabeth's servants. The following extract from the office-book of the Treasurer of the Chamber is decisive upon this point:—

'To Joseph Taylor, for himself and the rest of his fellows, servants to the Lady Elizabeth, her grace, upon the Council's warrant, dated at Whitehall, 21 June 1614, for presenting before her Majesty a comedy called *Eastward Ho!* on the 25th of January last past, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and by way of his Majesty's reward, 66*s.* 8*d.*—in all, 10*l.* To him more, upon a like warrant of a like date, for presenting before the Prince's Highness a comedy called *The Dutch Courtesan*, on the 12th of December last past, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*'¹

¹ Mr. P. Cunningham's *Revels' Accounts*, Introd., p. xliv.

This memorandum is remarkable, also, because it shows that a comedy—*Eastward Ho!*—which gave so much offence to James I when it was originally produced that he imprisoned the authors of it (Chapman, Ben Jonson, and Marston), was not very long afterwards, by omitting passages reflecting on the Scotch, rendered so palatable to the Court, that it was played before the king. Both that comedy and *The Dutch Courtesan* (written by Marston alone) had been printed eight or nine years before the date of this record of their performance at Whitehall.

In 1615 Joseph Taylor was at the head of the players of Prince Charles, formed in part, as well as we can now judge, of the servants of the Princess Elizabeth: by this date the company of the Prince Palatine seems to have re-united, and formed a distinct and independent association. After the death of Henslowe, in January 1616, Edward Alleyn again, and of necessity, mixed himself up with the management of the Prince's players at the Fortune: we learn that Taylor, Pallant, W. Rowley, Newton, Hamten, Atwell, Smyth, and others, had performed for Henslowe and Meade at Paris Garden, after it had been fitted up as an occasional theatre; but as soon as Henslowe was dead, Meade took measures which so annoyed the players, that they were obliged to make an appeal to Alleyn; and this document, subscribed by the seven principal actors, has been preserved, and is printed, with a facsimile of their hand-writings, in one of the publications of the Shakespeare Society.¹ Taylor and his associates requested from Alleyn a loan of 40*l.*, to supply their urgent exigencies, professing their readiness to give him the security of 80*l.*, then due to them for performances at Court, but not yet payable in the regular course of such transactions. We may presume that Alleyn complied, and we afterwards learn that many, if not all the subscribers, including of course Taylor, were members of Alleyn's company at the Fortune.

Our persuasion is that Taylor did not again attach himself to the King's players until after the death of Burbage: perhaps he was invited to join them upon very advantageous terms, with a view of

¹ *The Alleyn Papers*, pp. 86 and 87.

partially supplying the irreparable loss of the company. Field already belonged to it, and his name is therefore found in the renewed patent of 1619, but that of Taylor is wanting, and, as we apprehend, for this reason :—when it was drawn up, Burbage was living and in good health, but for some unexplained cause it was not dated until about a fortnight after his death : it then became necessary to recruit the association ; and, as the demise of Queen Anne occasioned a cessation of dramatic performances for about two months, the King's players employed the interval in negotiating with Taylor for his return.

That he did return, either then, or soon afterwards, we are able to produce evidence, which also establishes the additional fact that one of Burbage's characters was assigned to Taylor. We allude to the edition of Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, in 1623, which we have often before had occasion to mention in reference to the two lists of actors it contains—the one as the tragedy was played about 1616, and the other as it was played about 1622. In 1616, Burbage had the character of Duke Ferdinand in it, but in 1622 the part was given to Taylor : according to our supposition, Taylor had then belonged to the King's players since 1619, but this, it will be recollected, was the second time he had been a member of that association. In 1622 Taylor's services became the more necessary, because Field had then retired altogether from the profession.

In the list of the twenty-six 'principal actors in all these plays', prefixed to the folio Shakespeare of 1623, the name of Joseph Taylor stands only the twenty-first, which may, or may not, show that he had little to do with the original representation of the characters "of our great dramatist : this is a point we cannot pretend to determine. Of the parts Taylor sustained in the plays of Shakespeare we know little : only two have been handed down to us, but they are so important as strongly to confirm our belief, that after the death of Burbage Taylor in many instances assumed his buskins. One of these—Hamlet—has been already spoken of, and the other is Iago, which has been assigned to him on the same authority.¹ In Iago he

¹ Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, 8vo.

did not follow Burbage, because Burbage's part was Othello, and after his death Field succeeded to it, while Swanston apparently took it after Field.

It may be doubted whether Taylor aided originally in any of Ben Jonson's plays—certainly not in any included in the folio of 1616, although we have the evidence of Wright, in his *Historia Historionica*, that he subsequently obtained much reputation for his Mosca in *Volpone*, for his Truewit in *Epicæne*, and for his Face in *The Alchemist*. He may have acted in some of the same author's later works, particularly in his *Bartholomew Fair*, which was brought out by the Princess Elizabeth's servants in 1614, when Taylor was in the company. Taylor acted many parts in Beaumont and Fletcher's productions, his name being frequently found among the actors enumerated in the folios, but what those parts were we can generally only guess, because they are never specified: one of his characters was certainly Rollo, in *The Bloody Brother*, and another, Mirabel, in *The Wild Goose Chase*.¹ The *dramatis personæ* of Massinger's *Roman Actor* and *Picture*, prove that Taylor was Paris in the first, and Mathias in the second: he wrote some commendatory verses to *The Roman Actor*, when it was printed in 1629, which were addressed to 'his long known and loved friend', the author, and end thus:—

' But why I write to thee
Is, to profess our love's antiquity,
Which to this tragedy must give my test:
Thou hast made many good, but this thy best.'

All the lines run easily, and, if they have reached us in the state in which they were first penned by Taylor, they show that he was not a contemptible verse-maker, although we are acquainted with no more specimens of his skill. Another of his ascertained characters is

¹ According to Shakerly Marmion's lines 'unto his worthy friend Master Joseph Taylor', the latter was mainly and successfully instrumental in the revival of *The Faithful Shepherdess* at Court, just before its republication in 1633. Taylor evidently had a part in it, although his character has not been ascertained: Marmion says—

' Yet did it not receive more honour from
The glorious pomp, than thine own action,' etc.

the Duke, in Lodowick Carlell's *Deserving Favourite*; and the lists, as far as we can make them out, prove that he must have been not only a performer of great ability, but of very versatile talents.¹

Not long after the date of which we are now speaking, Taylor appears to have become one of the leaders of the King's players, in conjunction with Lowin. Malone tells us that Heminge 'continued chief director of the company to the time of his death', and in a certain sense this is true; but it is indisputable that he had ceased to act for some years, and that Taylor and Lowin sometimes took the places of Heminge and Condell, in their intercourse with the Master of the Revels, and other officers of the Court, on the subject of theatrical performances. At the close of 1624, the company incurred the displeasure of Sir H. Herbert, the Master of the Revels, by performing a play entitled *The Spanish Viceroy*, without his permission: for this act of insubordination they were called to account; and as we have inserted the submission of the eleven members of the company, with Taylor and Lowin at their head, in a previous part of this work, it is unnecessary to repeat it here.²

The first royal patent in which the name of Taylor occurs, as a member of the King's company of players, bears date 24th June 1625, soon after Charles I had ascended the throne. Heminge and Con-

¹ We learn from a passage in Gayton's Notes on *Don Quixote*, fo., 1654, that Taylor had been the representative of Arbaces in Beaumont and Fletcher's *King and no King*.

² Vol. i, 431. In August preceding, the company had got into disgrace for acting Middleton's *Game at Chess*. We may here correct an error into which the Rev. Mr. Dyce has fallen in his *Account of Middleton and his Works*, i, xxxv: it occurs where he cites an entry from the registers of the Privy Council, stating that Edward Middleton, having been sent for by warrant, had tendered his appearance. For 'Edward', the Rev. Mr. Dyce substitutes 'Thomas', within brackets, as if 'Edward' had been a clerical error for 'Thomas'. The fact is, as appears by other parts of the registers, that on 30th August 1624, a warrant had been issued 'to bring one Middleton, *sonne to Middleton the poet*, before their Lordships to answer', in consequence of which Edward Middleton, the son of Thomas Middleton, tendered his appearance. In an earlier part of his *Memoir* (p. xii) the Rev. Mr. Dyce mentions that Middleton had a son of the name of Edward, who was nineteen in 1623, which renders the mistake evident.

dell are still introduced as the heads of the association, but they had in fact retired from the more ostensible duties of the profession, and left Lowin and Taylor, whose names come third and fourth in the instrument, as the real leaders : when, however, on 30th December following, a hundred marks were ordered to be paid to the company as the royal bounty, 'for better furnishing them with apparel' that they might perform before the King, the warrant was made out in the name of Taylor alone. Together with Heminge, Lowin, and eleven others, in 1629, Taylor was provided as usual, from the royal wardrobe in the Blackfriars, with a cloak of bastard-scarlet and crimson velvet for the cape. In 1634, four years after the death of Heminge, Eliard Swanston is put forward with Lowin and Taylor as heads of the King's players, and on 27th April of that year they had a warrant for 220*l.*, the money due to them for representations at Court during twelve months. In 1636, Swanston's name is omitted, and Lowin and Taylor were paid 210*l.* for twenty-one plays ; and in 1637 they (in conjunction with Christopher Beeston, the master of 'the King and Queen's young company') had influence enough to obtain from the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, an unprecedented order to the Stationers' Company against the printing of plays in which the two associations had an interest.¹

The precise year when Taylor was appointed Yeoman of the Revels, under Sir Henry Herbert, was not accurately given in any authority, until it was ascertained from the original patent, bearing date 11th November 1639 : in it the office is called 'Yeoman or Keeper of our Vestures or Apparel' ; and, as it seems to be the first time the post was ever filled by an actor, we must, no doubt, mainly attribute his selection to his high claims in that capacity. An increase of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* had been made to the salary in 1630, in consequence of additional attendance during the month of October, but the total emoluments appear to have been inconsiderable.

About three years after Taylor had obtained this office, the theatres

¹ These matters will be found more fully and distinctly illustrated, under their respective dates, in our *Annals of the Stage*.

were closed, the civil wars having commenced. On the 2nd September 1642, was issued the 'Ordinance of the Lords and Commons' suppressing all theatrical performances : this order was more effectually enforced in 1647 ; and the actors, being deprived of this means of obtaining a livelihood, resorted to various expedients : one of these was the publication of the first folio impression of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher in 1647. Ten actors put their names to the dedication to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, in two columns, at the head of the first being John Lowin, and at the head of the second, Joseph Taylor. The reader may like to see who were the members of the disorganised association, if association it could be called, in 1647, and we subjoin the names as they stand in the printed copy :—' John Lowin, Richard Robinson, Eyliard Swanston, Hugh Clearke, Stephen Hammerton, John Taylor, Robert Benfield, Thomas Pollard, William Allen, Theophilus Byrd.' Five years afterwards, the two leaders of this body of disbanded players, having recovered *The Wild Goose Chase* (which they could not obtain for insertion in the folio) printed it with the purpose of obtaining a small supply of money. In 1652 their necessities seem to have been very pressing, all theatrical performances being completely at an end : we have sufficiently adverted to this point in our memoir of Lowin.

Wright tells us, in his *Historia Histrionica*, that Lowin, Taylor, and Pollard, were superannuated at the breaking out of the Rebellion ; and as Taylor was born, we believe, in 1585, he was not far from seventy when *The Wild Goose Chase* came from the press, and when it became necessary for him to raise a few pounds. He had to begin the world again, and he only survived until the next year. Richard Flecknoe published his 'Characters' (referred to by Malone) in 1665, but he introduces one which he tells us was written in 1654, and there he speaks of Joseph Taylor as dead : 'He is one who, now the stage is down, acts the parasite's part at table, and, since Taylor's death, none can play Mosca so well as he.' Wright states that Taylor died at Richmond, and was buried there.¹

From the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate, we learn that there

¹ Lysons in his *Environs*, i, 466, says, 'Joseph Taylor, an eminent actor, who

was a p'layer of the name of Thomas Taylor, who had a child christened and buried there in 1624 and 1625. Whether he were any relation to Joseph Taylor we have not been able to discover ; but we hear of Thomas Taylor, as an actor, on no other authority.

ROBERT BENFIELD.

MALONE and Chalmers only state that Benfield was an actor in *The Duchess of Malfi*, *The Deserving Favourite*, *The Picture*, *The Roman Actor*, and *The Wild Goose Chase*: the fact is, that he was also engaged in Beaumont's and Fletcher's *Coxcomb*, *The Honest Man's Fortune*, *The Knight of Malta*, *The Mad Lover*, *The False One*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *The Pilgrim*, *The Prophetess*, *The Maid in the Mill*, *The Wife for a Month*, and several other dramas by the same authors. Although the characters he filled are not enumerated, excepting in the instances of Antonio in *The Duchess of Malfi*, the King in *The Deserving Favourite*, Ladislaus in *The Picture*, Junius Rusticus in *The Roman Actor*, and De Gard in *The Wild Goose Chase*, it is very clear, from the frequency of the claims upon him, that he was a serviceable member of the King's company. When he first joined that association, or from whence he came, are not known ; his name does not occur in any of the lists of young players, acting as the Children of the Chapel, the Children of the Revels, etc., until 1613. In *The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, printed by the Shakespeare Society, a person of the name of Benfield is mentioned as a resident in the Liberty of the Clink in 1609 ; but this, as has been since ascertained, was not our actor, but 'Mr. William Benfield', in the token-books of St. Saviour's, who was a vestryman in 1607, churchwarden in 1611, and was buried in 1619. He had lived in the parish in

died in 1653, is said to have been buried at Richmond, but there is no memorial of him to be found in the church or churchyard, and the register is not so ancient.'

1596, and, for aught we know, might be the father of our Robert Benfield, one of 'the principal actors' in Shakespeare's plays.

It may on good grounds be doubted, whether Benfield was an original performer in any of the productions of our great dramatist, and whether he joined the association of the King's servants before the retirement of Shakespeare to his native town. He is not mentioned by Ben Jonson as having been concerned in the representation of any of his dramas between 1598 and 1611; and the earliest date at which we hear of him, as a player, is in *The Coxcomb*, already mentioned, when he was one of the Children of the Queen's Revels, and played with Field, Taylor, and five others: this comedy was acted in 1613, and there can be little doubt that it was his first appearance on the stage. Benfield was not one of the original performers in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, about 1616; but, on its revival, not long before it was printed in 1623, he had succeeded Ostler in the part of Antonio Bologna.

We apprehend that Benfield was not taken into the King's company, until about the same date that Field and Taylor joined it for the second time. Benfield's name follows that of Field in the confirmation of the patent of 1603, granted by James I, in 1619: we do not before hear of him in this association. In the patent of Charles I, on his accession, his name stands sixth in the list of thirteen performers, following that of Richard Robinson, Field having before this period retired from the profession. In the preceding year, Benfield had been included in the submission of the company to the Master of the Revels for having acted *The Spanish Viceroy* without his licence.

He was married before 1617, perhaps before he was promoted to the theatrical service of James I, but we have not been able to find the registration: his first child (at least, the first of which we have any intelligence) died in the autumn of 1617, and the burial is thus recorded at St. Bartholomew's the Great, in which parish he most likely resided:—'Robert, the sonne of Robert Benfield, was buried 15 Oct. 1617.' He subsequently took up his residence in St. Giles, Cripplegate, and there, after an interval of about fourteen years, we

learn that two more of his children were interred. We quote the following from the registers :—‘Buried. Bartholomew, the sonne of Robert Benfield, gent., 21 July 1631.’ ‘Buried. Eliz., daughter of Robert Benfield, player, 1 Aug. 1631.’ Where these, or any other of his children were born, we are unable to trace.

He seems to have continued a member of the company of the King’s players to the last : in 1629 he had the usual allowance of bastard scarlet and velvet for a cloak ; and from this date we hear no more of him until after the imperfect closing of the theatres in 1642. In 1647 he was one of the ten surviving players who signed the dedication of the folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher’s plays. How long Benfield survived this publication we are without evidence ; but if we suppose him to have been fifteen in 1613, when he played with the rest of the Children of the Queen’s Revels in *The Coxcomb*, he was not fifty when the Ordinance was passed by the Lords and Commons for ‘the better suppression of stage-plays, interludes, and common players’. Until then (22 Oct. 1647) the efforts of the puritans to this end do not seem to have been quite effectual.¹

Where he died, in the confusion of the times which preceded and followed this event, cannot perhaps be ascertained : no will by Benfield has come to light, nor any administration of his estate.

ROBERT GOUGHÉ.

WE are able to furnish some particulars regarding Goughe and his family, beyond the brief notices of him by Malone and Chalmers. The former says, ‘I suppose he was the father of Alexander Goughe’;² but there is not the slightest doubt on the point, as we shall show

¹ The Ordinance was followed by an act ‘For the Suppression of Stage-plays and Interludes, published in Scobell’s *Collections of Acts and Ordinances* from 1640 to 1656, under date of 11th Feb. 1647-8.

² The name was spelt indifferently, Gough, or Goffe : it is Goughe in the list of ‘the principal actors in all these plays’, prefixed to the folio of 1623.

presently : Alexander Goughe, who was an actor until the closing of the theatres, and who published *The Widow* (by Ben Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton) in 1652, was the son of Robert Goughe, who, having played Aspasia in Tarlton's *Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins* before 1588, was unquestionably one of the original actors in Shakespeare's plays.

We may conclude that Robert Goughe was young in 1588, from his having taken (as far as we can judge) a female part; but he must have outgrown that class of characters long before 1611 (the date assigned by Malone) when he was the usurping tyrant in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, because he was married early in the spring of 1603, as appears by the subsequent extract from the register of St. Saviour's, Southwark :—'Married : 1602, Feb. 13, Robert Gough and Elizabeth ——. ' The clerk did not know the surname of the wife, but we can supply it from other sources. She was sister to Augustine Phillips, mentioned in her brother's will, in 1605, as Elizabeth Goughe, while her husband was one of the witnesses to it. In 1603 Thomas Pope had left to Goughe and John Edmonds (another actor) 'all his arms and all his wearing apparel, to be equally divided between them'. On the foundation of this bequest Chalmers states, that Robert Goughe had 'probably been bred by Thomas Pope', meaning educated by him for the stage; but there is no other existing evidence on the point, and this testimony will hardly be deemed sufficient.

Robert Goughe seems to have resided in Southwark, and we never hear of any connection between him and any other company but the King's players, occupying the Globe and the Blackfriars Theatres. The token-books preserved at St. Saviour's show that he was living in Hill's Rents in 1604, in Samson's Rents in 1605 and 1606; but in 1612 he had removed to Austin's Rents; and as he continued there in 1622, there is little doubt that he did not change his abode until his death, three years afterwards. We meet with the following entries at St. Saviour's, regarding the baptisms and burials of his children :—'Baptized : 1605, 30 May, Elizabeth Gough, daughter of Robert, a player.' 'Baptized : 1608, 24 Nov., Nicholas Goffe, sonne

of Robert, a player.' 'Baptized: 1610, Feb. 10, Dorathye Goffe, daughter of Robert, a player.' 'Buried: 1612, Jan. 12, Dorathy Goffe, a child.' 'Baptized: 1614, Aug. 7, Alexander Goffe, sonne of Robert, a player.' This last was, of course, Alexander Goughe, 'the woman-actor of the Blackfriars', as Wright calls him, who afterwards flourished for many years on the stage, who, when only twelve years old, was 'Cænis, Vespasian's concubine', in Massinger's *Roman Actor*, and three years afterwards Acanthe, in the same dramatist's *Picture*. Alexander Gough was the youngest and last child of his parents, as far as we are able to learn from the registers.

With the exception stated on the preceding page, we have no means of deciding what parts Robert Goughe filled in the productions of Shakespeare or of other poets: his name is not appended to the *dramatis personæ* of any plays by Ben Jonson, or Beaumont and Fletcher; and, as he died early in 1625, he had no opportunity of appearing in the works of later writers. The probability certainly is, that he sustained female characters in some of the earlier plays of our great dramatist; but we have not the slightest clue to any of them, and we need not indulge in conjectures which our readers can form for themselves.

Neither Malone nor Chalmers knew anything of the marriage, family, or death of Goughe: we find the last event thus recorded in the bound register-book, made out from the monthly accounts at St. Saviour's:—'Buried: 1624, Feb. 19, Robert Goffe, a man,' which might apply to any other Robert Goughe besides our actor; but in the monthly account, from which the register-book was certainly copied, the 'quality' of the 'man' is thus distinguished:—'19 Feb., 1624, Robert Goffe, a player, buried.' Why the person who transcribed the book substituted 'man' for 'player' does not appear; but this is another circumstance which shows the superior value of the more ancient, and often more particular and explanatory, records in Southwark.

RICHARD ROBINSON.

THIS player may have been an original actor in some of Shakespeare's later dramas, and he just outlived the complete and final suppression of the stage. Of his death, and of the date at which it occurred, we shall speak presently.

His earliest appearance in any list of actors is at the end of Ben Jonson's *Catiline*, first represented 'by the King's Majesty's servants' in 1611. Robinson was probably the youngest performer in the company: he is certainly the only member of whom we do not hear before, and we may conclude that he sustained one of the four female characters: he had most likely been adopted into the association as a representative of parts of that sex. Ben Jonson divides the 'principal tragedians' in his *Catiline* into two columns, and places Robinson at the bottom of the first, and Ecclestone at the bottom of the second. Such seems to have been the class of characters Robinson usually performed early in his career, but Gifford tells us, that he 'undoubtedly played the part of Wittipol'¹ in Ben Jonson's *Devil is an Ass*, which was produced in 1616; Wittipol is 'a young gallant', and might very well have been placed in Robinson's hands, though we have no distinct proof that it was assigned to him. In this very play Ben Jonson speaks of Robinson, in terms of extraordinary eulogy, as an actor of female characters: it occurs in act ii, scene viii, of the earliest edition of 1631; but Gifford makes it the third scene of the second act, and changes 'Dick Robinson', the familiar name by which he was known among his fellows, into 'Dickey Robinson': it will be observed that in the following quotation Ben Jonson twice calls him Dick Robinson:—

'Engine.—Why, sir, your best will be one o' the players.
Merecraft.—No; there's no trusting them They'll talk on't,
 And tell their poets.
Engine.—What if they do? the jest
 Will brook the stage. But there be some of 'em

¹ Ben Jonson's *Works*, v, 73.

Are very honest lads. There is Dick Robinson,
 A very pretty fellow, and comes often
 To a gentleman's chamber, a friend of mine: we had
 The merriest supper of it there, one night.
 The gentleman's landlady invited him
 To a gossip's feast: now, he, sir, brought Dick Robinson,
 Drest like a lawyer's wife, amongst 'em all.
 (I lent him clothes) but to see him behave it,
 And lay the law, and carve, and drink unto 'em,
 And then talk bawdy, and send frolics! O!
 It would have burst your buttons, or not left you
 A seame.

Merecraft.—They say he's an ingenious youth.

Engine.—O, sir! and dresses himself the best! beyond
 Forty o' your ladies! Did you ne'er see him?

Merecraft.—No: I do seldom see those toys. But think you
 That we may have him?

Engine.—Sir, the young gentleman,
 I tell you of, can command him.'

This, it will be remembered, was acted in 1616, five years after we first hear of Robinson, and when he had established himself in public estimation in the line adverted to. The only female character he is known to have filled is the lady of Govianus in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, but at what date is uncertain: neither do we know at what period he began to represent male characters. He acted in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonduca*, *Double Marriage*, *Wife for a Month*, and *Wild Goose Chase*: the last (published, as we have already stated, in 1652 by Lowin and Taylor), had been brought out in 1621, and in it Robinson had not the part even of a young man, much less of a woman: he was 'La Castre, the indulgent father of Mirabel'.¹ In Carlell's *Deserving Favourite* he was Orsinio,

¹ 'Acted by Master Richard Robinson' is placed after the name of the character in Lowin and Taylor's edition of 1652: Robinson had then been dead about five years; and the mere information, that such and such parts were 'acted' by such and such players, is placed against the names of all the performers in the comedy but three: of Mirabel it is said, 'incomparably acted by Master Joseph Taylor'; of Belleur we are told that it was 'most naturally acted by Master John Lowin'; and of Pinac the criticism is, that it was 'admirably well acted by Master Thomas Pollard'.

and in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* he followed that experienced actor, Condell, as the Cardinal, about the year 1622. By this time he was evidently disqualified for the girlish characters he had sustained in his youth.

As soon as his name could be included in any patent to the King's players, it is found there. James I made no concession of this kind to his own theatrical servants, as far as we know, between 1603 and 1619: at the former date Robinson must have been quite a child, but at the latter, when the king confirmed his patent of 1603, Robinson's name comes last but one in a list of twelve performers. In 1624 he subscribed the submission to the Master of the Revels, for acting without leave *The Spanish Viceroy*, immediately after Joseph Taylor; and there is no doubt that he was then an eminent member of the company. His name fills precisely the same place in the patent granted by Charles I in 1625, and there are only four actors before him, and eight after him. Condell being dead in 1629, Robinson's name stands fourth in the order, then issued, for cloaks for the King's players: Heminge, Lowin, and Taylor, only precede him in the enumeration of fourteen performers.

Nothing seems recorded of Robinson for an interval of eighteen years, but we may be sure that he remained on the stage as long as the Puritans permitted that there should be any stage for him to remain on. His name follows that of Lowin in the dedication to the folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's works in 1647; and the list, which we have inserted on a previous page, contains the last notice of several distinguished actors of, what may be called, the old school of Shakespeare and Burbage.

We know absolutely nothing respecting the family of which Richard Robinson came; but, as may be imagined, we find the name of Robinson of frequent occurrence in the old registers, and sometimes with the prefix of Richard. Thus, at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, we have Richard Robinson married to Priscilla Harrys on 11th January 1599, much too early for our actor; and on 2nd September 1581, we find the burial of 'Isaac, soone to Richard Robinson', at St. Anne's, Blackfriars. This Richard Robinson may have been the

father of our actor, but we discover no trace of any family connection beyond the identity of names.¹

We now come to the disputed question of the death of Robinson; and, in relation to it, we meet with the following passage in a work we have often before quoted, Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699:— 'When the stage was put down, and the rebellion raised, most of the players, except Lowin, Taylor, and Pollard (who were superannuated) went into the King's army, and, like good men and true, served their old master, though in a different yet more honourable capacity. Robinson was killed at the taking of a place (I think Basing House) by Harrison, he that was after hanged at Charing Cross, who refused him quarter, and shot him in the head when he had laid down his arms, abusing Scripture at the same time in saying—'Cursed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently.'

Basing House having been taken on the 14th October 1645, if the Robinson then killed by Harrison were Richard Robinson, it is quite clear that he could not have subscribed the dedication of Beaumont and Fletcher's works in 1647: if he were dead, and had been dead two years, his name would assuredly not have appeared there; and it is to be observed that Wright, who printed his tract more than fifty years after the event, does not give the Christian name of the Robinson who was killed by Harrison. Now, there were two other Robinsons on the stage besides Richard, and at about the same time: one of these was John Robinson, who performed in N. Richards's *Messalina*, which was printed in 1640; and the other William Robinson, who was one of the actors in Thomas Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West*, printed in 1631. As to John Robinson, we know that he died in 1641, and was registered at St. Giles, Cripplegate, in the following distinct manner:—'Buried, John Robinson, player, 27 April 1641.' We therefore put him out of the question: his burial

¹ A person of the name of Richard Robinson, 'a man more debased by many than he merits of any, so good parts are there in the man', assisted Thomas Churchyard in his book entitled *A true Discourse historicall of the succeeding Governours of the Netherlands*. 1602. 4to. If this Richard Robinson were the father of the actor, we are without evidence on the point.

would not have been recorded in 1641, if he had been killed in 1645. Still, there remains William Robinson, who was one of Queen Anne's players in 1619, and subsequently performed in *The Fair Maid of the West*: when he died we have no memorial, and our conviction is, that he was the Robinson to whom Wright alludes, and who was killed at Basing House in 1645. Richard Robinson survived to join, with his nine fellows, in the dedication of Beaumont and Fletcher's works, in 1647.

In an article in vol. ii of *The Shakespeare Society's Papers*, Mr. P. Cunningham adduces a passage from a report by Hugh Peters to the House of Commons, dated 15th October 1645, the day after the taking of Basing House, giving an account of that event: it contains the following remarkable sentence:—‘There lay upon the ground, slain by the hands of Major Harrison (that godly and gallant gentleman), Major Cuffie, a man of great account among them, and a notorious papist; and Robinson, the player, who, a little before the storm, was known to be mocking and scorning the Parliament.’

This piece of evidence seems decisive that ‘Robinson, the player’, was killed by ‘that godly and gallant gentleman’, Harrison; but it does not prove that it was *Richard* Robinson. In opposition to it we have not only the dedication of Beaumont and Fletcher's works in 1647, which under ordinary circumstances would be deemed sufficient, but the actual register of the burial of Richard Robinson at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, in 1647-8: neither is it merely the burial of a Richard Robinson, but of Richard Robinson, *the player*. It stands precisely in these terms: ‘Richard Robinson, a player, buried 23 March 1647.’ It was unusual in this parish to record the business or profession of the person interred, but in this instance it seems almost to have been done in anticipation of a question, which we apprehend is now at rest. It is due to Chalmers to state, that he was the first to maintain that Richard Robinson had not been killed by Harrison, but he was not acquainted with the precise date of the entry we have quoted. He treated Wright's anecdote as a mere invention; but there is no doubt, on the evidence of Hugh Peters, that it is true—true of William Robinson, though not of Richard.

We have not been able to discover whether Richard Robinson left any will or property behind him. In 1623 he had been indebted 29*l.* 13*s.* 0*d.* to Nicholas Tooley, which he, probably, duly paid.

JOHN SHANCKE.

MALONE and, after him, Chalmers state, that Shancke¹ 'performed the part of the Curate' (meaning Sir Roger, the chaplain) 'in Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*', and they derived their information from the tract called *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, although they did not give their authority. Wright's words are, 'Pollard and Robinson were comedians; so was Shancke, who used to act Sir Roger in *The Scornful Lady*'. *The Scornful Lady* was, in all probability, chiefly written by Beaumont, and it was acted soon after 'The Cleve Wars', which are mentioned in it, broke out in 1609. Shancke was a servant, *i. e.*, lover, without a name, in *The Wild Goose Chase*, and he was one of the performers in *The Prophetess*: the two last seem to have been brought out in 1621 and 1622. He was also Hilario, in Massinger's *Picture*, in 1629. This is all that is known respecting the parts he sustained, or the plays in which he acted. He was on the stage in 1603, his name coming last in the enumeration of thirteen players acting under the patronage of Prince Henry:² he must at this date have been connected with Henslowe, but (perhaps on account of his inferior rank) he does not occur in the old manager's *Diary*. In 1613 most of the members of the company had been taken into the service of the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and there we again meet with Shancke, last but one in an association of fourteen players. He does not appear to have joined the King's dramatic servants until shortly before the confirmation of their patent in 1619, and then only in a humble capacity, for his name is postponed

¹ His name is spelt with nearly as much variety as it was well capable of—Shancke, Shanks, Shanke, Shanks, Schank, Schankes, and Schancke. We have adopted the orthography of the folio of 1623.

² *Harl. MS.*, No. 252.

to all the rest. He submitted to the Master of the Revels in 1624, was mentioned in the patent of 1625, having ascended to about the middle of the list, and he was included in the warrant for cloaks in 1629, being then fifth in the enumeration. Hence it appears, as far as location may be considered a criterion, that he had been gradually rising in the profession since he first became an actor at the Globe and Blackfriars.

We may conclude, from the following stanza in a humorous ballad of the time, that Shancke was celebrated for singing rhymes, and what were technically 'jigs', on the stage, and that in this respect, as a low comedian, he had been a legitimate successor of Tarlton, Kempe, Phillips, Armin, etc.

' That's the fat fool of the Curtain,
And the lean fool of the Bull:
Since Shancke did leave to sing his rhimes,
He is counted but a gull:
The players on the Bankside,
The round Globe and the Swan,
Will teach you idle tricks of love,
But the Bull will play the man.'

This ballad is called *Turner's Dish of Stuff, or a Gallimaufry*, and it is subscribed 'W. Turner', and dated 1662, but no doubt it was a reprint of an earlier production, written and published while the Curtain, Bull, Globe, and Swan Theatres were occupied by various successful companies. At that date (and it could not well have been later than 1625, or 1630), Shancke seems to have enjoyed a high reputation for comic performances. As early as March 1623-4, he had produced a piece, called *Shancke's Ordinary*, which Malone and Chalmers dignify by the title of 'a comedy'; but it was certainly no more than the species of entertainment called a *jig*, and the name it bore seems sufficiently to indicate its character. In the only authority on which we hear of this piece, Sir Henry Herbert's *Register*, the entry regarding it is in these terms:—'For the King's company *Shancke's ordinary*, written by Shancke himself, this 16 March 1623, the fee being 1*l*.'

Shancke seems to have lived nearly all his life in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and there we meet with the registration of the baptisms and burials of many of his children between 1610 (before which date he must of course have married, though we have found no record of the ceremony) and 1629. As Malone and Chalmers omitted to take any notice of them in the little they wrote about our actor, we shall subjoin the names as they stand in the original records. The first entry is of an unnamed son, probably born out of the parish:—‘Buried: a sonne of John Shanckes, player, 31 Dec. 1610.’ ‘Christened: Elizabeth, daughter of John Shanck, plaier, 10 Feb. 1611.’ ‘Buried: a daughter of John Shanck, gent., 22 March 1614.’¹ ‘Christened: James, sonne of John Shancks, gentleman, 1 Aug. 1619.’ ‘Christened: John, sonne of John Shanckes, *chandler*, 2 Feb. 1620.’ ‘Christened: Thomas, sonne of John Shankes, gentleman, 18 Nov. 1621.’ ‘Buried: Thomas, sonne of John Shank, gentleman, 1 Dec. 1621.’ ‘Christened: Wynefred, daughter of John Schankes, player, 3 Aug. 1623.’

This Winifred must have died young, though her burial is not registered at St. Giles, Cripplegate, because, farther on in the register, we read—‘Christened: Wynefred, daughter of John Shancke, player, 19 May 1626.’

The second Winifred was buried on the 16th June 1629. It may be doubted whether John Shanckes, the ‘chandler’, of the fifth entry we have extracted, was the same person as John Shancke, the

¹ It will be observed that there is an interval of more than four years between the burial of this child and the baptism of the next: during that period John Shancke may have lived out of the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate; and in a document at St. Saviour’s, Southwark, we meet with the name of ‘John Shancke’ as a resident in Rochester Yard. ‘John Taylor, the poet’, it is recorded, also lived there, and at the same time. Very possibly this John Shancke was our actor, but the paper containing his name has no date, though from other circumstances we may conjecture that it belongs to one of the years between 1615 and 1620. ‘John Shancke, a child’, was buried at St. Saviour’s on the 10th October 1614; but it should seem that, if at all, our actor did not quit Cripplegate until after 22nd March 1614-15: moreover, there was a John Shancke, a gardener, living in the parish of St. Saviour’s at that period.

player, because there were other persons of the name in the parish. At the same time Shancke may, like Heminge and others, have carried on a business, besides being an actor; and if he did so, it may account for his continued residence in Cripplegate, long after he had attached himself to the company acting at the Globe and Blackfriars. He, perhaps, first took up his abode in Cripplegate, when, in 1603, he was one of the players of Prince Henry occupying the Fortune; of which association, though under a different name, he continued a member until he became one of the King's players. The register, in one entry, gives the place of Shancke's residence, viz., Golden Lane, in which Henslowe and Alleyn's Theatre stood; and, besides servants, several persons, who seem to have lodged with Shancke, were buried from his house: Susan Rodes and Jane Buffington, 'servants to Mr. Shancke', were buried in 1618 and 1622; and Mrs. Sarah Dambrooke and Mrs. Maryan Porter, widows, were interred 'from the house of John Shancke, gentleman', in 1624: the last might be the widow of Henry Porter, the dramatist.

Whether all Shancke's children were by the same wife we cannot state, for the Cripplegate registers do not add (as was sometimes done in other parishes) the Christian name of the mother; but on 26th January 1630, we meet with the marriage of a John Shancke and Elizabeth Martin, and he may have been our actor.¹ If he were, he only lived five years after this second marriage, for in a subsequent part of the volume we meet with the following registration of his interment in the parish where he had so long resided:—'Buried. John Shank, player, 27 Jan. 1635.'

In the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, is preserved a manuscript (vol. iii, S, Art. 131), which is on all accounts curious and interesting, but especially as to John Shancke, and the state of religious feeling subsequent to the death of Shakespeare. It is entitled 'Shanke's

¹ We cannot trace the death of Mrs. Shancke in any of the registers we have examined. We should not feel much hesitation in deciding that the John Shancke, who married Elizabeth Martin, was the subject of our memoir, if the Cripplegate registers did not prove that, while the actor was resident in the parish, a blacksmith, of both the same names, was also carrying on business there.

Song': the copy of it is evidently imperfect, and to render it intelligible we have been obliged to add a word here and there: this we have done with the aid of another exemplar in private hands to which we have been enabled to resort; and it is likely that it was at one time printed, although we now know nothing of it, in that state. Such small additions as we have made are inserted between brackets; and the reader will, we think, be surprised by the extraordinary freedom it displays, in some places, on the subject of prevailing superstition and religious belief: it was obviously intended to ridicule the unfortunate Irish papists on their condition and sufferings in England, as well as on the power and influence of their priesthood: it is headed,

‘SHANKES SONG.

‘Now Ch——, me shave,
 Poor Irish knave
 Pity he crave—O hone, O hone !
 ‘All round [about]
 This towne throughout,
 Poore Irish lowt—Hath he gone, O hone !
 ‘Maister to finde.
 None will be kinde,
 Before or behind—To poore Shocke, O hone !
 ‘Out of all cry
 Him [they] defy.
 Try him, doe try—All give a mocke, O hone !
 ‘Shocke very poore,
 Kick out a doore,
 Never no more—To come in, O hone !
 ‘Him never robb,
 Only him gob,
 Now wants a [job]—All bone and skin, O hone !
 ‘Shocke trot about,
 To find Master out :
 All give a floute—To poore Irish boy, O hone !¹

¹ The want of rhyme, if nothing else, leads us to suspect an omission here, which we cannot supply.

'Him foote berry sore,
 From dore [to dore]
 He run and he rore—All the day long, O hone !

 'See how it bleede :
 Looke [looke] ! indeed,
 By my X creede—And even-song, O hone !

 'Pity poor Shocke :
 All give a knocke
 To poore Irish [blocke]—Looke behind, O hone !

 'Not one [so witty]
 As take any pittie
 In all this great city—Or to be kind, O hone !

 'Oft times him beat
 Cause he not eat,
 On Friday no meat—Priest say him nay, O hone !

 'When he would pray,
 Take beads away,
 Ah well a [day]—De poore boy, O hone !

 'Made church to goe
 When will or no.
 Me dye if I do—Me will say Mass, O hone !

 'Me love Popish priest,
 All the rest beast,
 And fast is not feast—For [an asse], O hone !

The above certainly affords a curious picture of the treatment of poor imported Irish servants in the reign of the Stuarts: the song, we believe, is unique in its kind.

We know of only one actor of the name of Shancke, but he may have had a son, or some young relative, on the stage, who was living in 1642, and to whom the subjoined paragraphs from *The Perfect Diurnal*, of 24th October in that year, may apply :—

'This day there came three of the Lord General's Officers post from the army to London, signifying that there was a great fight on Sunday last, and being brought to the Parliament and examined, it appeared they were not sent from the army with any letters, or otherwise, but in a cowardly manner run from their captains at the beginning of the fight, and had most basely possessed the

people, both as they came away, and at their coming to town, with many false rumours, giving forth in speeches that there were 20,000 men killed on both sides, and that there were not four in all their companies escaped with life besides themselves; and many other strange wonders, though altogether false, it being rather conceived that their companies, like themselves, upon the beginning of the fight, very valiantly took to their heels and ran away.

'And, after further inquiry was made after these commanders, it was no wonder to hear their strange news, for they were Captain Wilson, Lieut. Whitney, and *one Shanks, a player*. An affidavit was offered to be made, that one of them said, before he went out with the Earl of Essex, that he would take the Parliament's pay, but would never fight against any of the King's party; and the other two were very rude and insolent persons: whereupon the House ordered they should all three be committed to the Gatehouse, and brought to condign punishment, according to marshal law, for their base cowardliness.'

Whatever be the truth or falsehood of this story, and whether the 'Shanks' above-named were or were not 'a player', it is very evident that he was not the man who had been a 'principal actor' in Shakespeare's plays, because he had been buried, as we have shown, about seven years before. Malone and Chalmers thought that what we have above quoted applied to John Shancke, and conjectured that he was dead in 1647, probably because his name is not found at the end of the dedication of the folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's works in that year: had they resorted to the registers at Cripplegate, and examined them with any attention, they would have seen that the elder John Shanke was interred, in the churchyard of St. Giles, in the commencement of the year 1635-6.

JOHN RICE.

THIS 'principal actor in all these plays' comes last in the folio of 1623; and we perhaps possess as little distinct information regarding him, as respecting any others of the more obscure names in the list of twenty-six performers of Shakespeare's dramas. We do not find Rice's name in any parish register at all in a way to enable us to

identify him, and we have very little other documentary or traditional evidence. Malone dismisses him in five lines, and one of the two points he states is a decided oversight.¹

Rice was among the twelve players who, on 29th August 1611, entered into an engagement with Henslowe to perform under his management at the Fortune.² whether Rice had been previously connected with any company of players, we have no means of determining. He sustained an unimportant character called Pescara, in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, about 1622, when it was revived, and he may have appeared in the same part, and in the same piece, when it was first brought out by the King's players; but we think it improbable, because, when James I granted the confirmation of his patent in 1619, the name of John Rice is not found in the list of the company.³ It is true, he may have been included in the general terms, 'and the rest of their associates', but this is hardly likely, if he deserved such distinct mention in the folio of 1623. In the year after that volume was published, Rice was among the eleven players who made a submission to the Master of the Revels for acting a drama without licence: he was one of his Majesty's servants when Charles I granted the patent of 1625; but he had disappeared from the company four years afterwards, when the usual quantities of cloth and velvet were issued to them for cloaks. By this date he had perhaps retired from the profession, or was dead. It is not impossible that 'John Rice, clerk, of St. Saviour's, in Southwark', to whom Heminge, in 1630, left 'twenty shillings as a remembrance of his love', should have been our actor, who, having quitted the stage soon

¹ Namely, that John Rice 'was perhaps brother to Stephen Rice, clerk, who is mentioned in the will of John Heminge'. The clergyman of St. Saviour's, Southwark, whose name is introduced into Heminge's will, was '*John Rice, clerk*'; and John Rice, the actor, could not, therefore, be his brother.

² *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, p. 98.

³ Rice was an actor in *The False One*, but his character, and the date when the play was brought out, cannot be ascertained. Burbage had no part in it, and he was probably then dead, which precludes the supposition that Beaumont aided Fletcher in the composition of it. That he had some coadjutor appears nevertheless indisputable.

after 1625, had subsequently taken orders. Such changes were not without precedent : Stephen Gosson had been a player and a dramatic author, yet afterwards obtained the capital living of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate.¹ The Rev. John Rice was probably only curate of St. Saviour's, Southwark.

In the token-books of that parish the name of John Rice occurs, but we can only guess that it refers in one instance to the actor : the date is 1619, when 'John Rice *et uxor*' lived 'near the playhouse': this establishes also, if it were our actor, that he was married. It would have been our opinion that he was not early enough a member of the King's company to have performed originally in any of the plays of our great dramatist, if Heminge and Condell did not tell us the contrary.

¹ He had the living in 1609, if not earlier; and, in consequence, his wife and daughter were present in that year at the marriage of the Earl of Argyle and the daughter of Sir W. Cornwallis, as appears by the following extract from the parish register :—

'Archibald Campbell, Earle of Argille, and Anne Cornwallis, the daughter of Sir William Cornwallis, Knight, were married the 30 Nov. 1609, p. lic. ex. off. Mri. Kempe, Rus. Facult., and in the presence of theise whose names are as followeth : *videlicet*, Sir Edward Cecill, Knighte, Sir Jhone Gwynne, Knight, Mr. Robert Bacon, Esquier, the Ladye Bonde and hir gentlewoman, Mrs. Elizabeth Gosson, and Mrs. Elizabeth Gosson, her daughter, and Mr. Christopher Newdicke, gent., with divers others.'

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